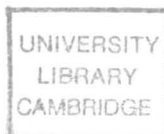


THE LOCAL DIMENSIONS OF DEFENCE:
THE STANDING ARMY AND MILITIA IN
NORFOLK, SUFFOLK AND ESSEX, 1649-1660

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Thesis: The local dimensions of defence: the standing army and militia in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex 1649-1660

Part I: Interregnum governments faced numerous threats to their security and military power: internally from Royalist conspiracies and political dissidence, and externally from the danger of a combined Royalist and foreign invasion. The Eastern Counties were of strategic importance to Interregnum governments because of their proximity to London and the Continent, and because of their considerable economic resources. Interregnum governments were able to maintain their control over the region, and draw upon its resources for defence through the region's local and central administrative structures.

Part II: The first arm of the Interregnum system of defence was the standing army. This consisted first of the units of horse and foot stationed in the region. The horse were used primarily to respond quickly to internal threats. The foot were stationed in the region primarily to await embarkation for foreign service. The coast was protected by a series of fortified garrisons, the governors of which played a key role in coordinating the defence and security of the region. A uniform assessment was levied which provided a sound basis for the pay and supply of the standing forces.

Part III: The standing army was complemented by the militia. Like the standing forces, the traditional county and borough forces were reorganized and put on a sound basis after the Civil War. The new organization provided the framework for local defence up to and after the Restoration. Within this framework, Interregnum governments experimented with various select militias, but with only limited success. Both the 'general' and 'select' militias were administered in the localities by a group of trusted appointees, who worked closely with the garrison governors, and later with the Major-Generals of

1655 and 1659 to coordinate the regions defence and security. The financial structure of the militia was based on a uniform and statutorily defined scale of rates.

Conclusion: Together the standing army and militia formed part of a single system comprised of three mutually dependent elements: the deployment of men and materials, the maintenance of security, and the raising of funds. The system was put on an efficient basis during the Interregnum and embodied the ideal of publicly uniform administration which characterized Interregnum government as a whole.

This thesis is approximately 75,000 words in length,

J.G.A. Ive.

J.G.A. Ive

TO MY PARENTS

PREFACE

This thesis is the result of my own independent and original research. My debt is first and foremost to my supervisor Dr J.S. Morrill, who has guided and encouraged me, especially through many dry periods, and whose seminar has provided a congenial and stimulating forum for testing out the broad lines of this thesis. I would also like to express my appreciation to Dr Hassell Smith for the opportunity to present the substance of Part III to the seminar at the University of East Anglia, and to Dr Peter Lake, at whose informal summer seminar at the Institute of Historical research seminar I presented a version of the same paper. I have benefitted greatly from exchanging ideas and information with fellow-researchers, to name but a few: Mr Brian Lyndon, Dr Andrew Coleby, Mr William Cliftlands, Mr Paul Gladwish, Mr Christopher Thompson, Dr Stephen Porter and Dr John Adamson, and have received useful advice from Dr Ian Gentles and Dr Gerald Aylmer. I owe a great deal to my teachers at Rhodes University, South Africa, for my instruction in the art of doing history. Where this thesis is lacking is where I have departed from what they taught me. I would also like to express my appreciation to the staff of the libraries and archives which I made use of in the course of my research: the Cambridge University Library, the Seeley Historical Library, Christ's College Library (all at Cambridge), the Bodleian Library and Worcester College Library (Oxford), the British Library, the Institute of Historical Research, the Public Record Office

and the House of Lords Record Office (London), the Norfolk and Norwich Record Office (Norwich), the East and West Suffolk Record Offices (Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds), the Essex Record Office (Chelmsford), the Colchester Record Office (Colchester), and Mr L.T. Weaver (Harwich) and the Folger Library (Washington, D.C.). I would also like to thank my mother for typing the first draft of this thesis, Miss Hilary Davey for typing the second draft, and Miss Mary Mansfield for helping with the editing. I owe a considerable debt to family and friends for support and extended hospitality on numerous occasions; in particular, I would like to thank my cousin, Miss Sylvia Mann, and my uncle and aunt, Mr and Mrs Robin Ive. None of this would have been possible without the award of a Research Scholarship by the Master and Fellows of Christ's College, Cambridge, together with a National Scholarship awarded by Rhodes University and an Overseas Research Studentship awarded by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and University Principals - to all of whom I am extremely grateful.

Note on Dating

Dates, except where specifically indicated otherwise, are Old Style with the year adjusted to begin on 1 January.

Note on References

The State Papers, Domestic, are a major source for the thesis, and I have attempted to combine the advantages of accuracy and accessibility by giving the P.R.O. reference rather than the calendar page, but by providing the date of the document concerned to make it easier to consult the calendar directly.

ABBREVIATIONS

- A.O. Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660
3 vols. (eds. C.H. Firth and R.S. Rait, 1911)
- C.A.M. Committee for Advance of Money, 1642-1656
3 vols. (ed. M.A.E. Green, 1888)
- C.C.C. Calendar of the Committee for Compounding with
Delinquents
5 vols. (ed. M.A.E. Green, 1888-93)
- C.Cl.S.P. Calendar of Clarendon State Papers preserved in the
Bodleian Library
5 vols. (eds. O. Ogle et al., 1869-1932)
- Cl.S.P. Clarendon State Papers
5 vols. (1872-6)
- C.J. The Journals of the House of Commons
- C.S.P.D Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1625-85
64 vols. (eds, M.A.E. Green et al., 1858-1947)

C.S.P.V. Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts relating
to English Affairs existing in the Archives
of Venice

17 vols. (ed. A.B. Hinds, 1912-32)

D.N.B. The Dictionary of National Biography

21 vols. (eds. Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee, 1921)

L.J. The Journals of the House of Lords

T.S.P. A collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe

7 vols. (ed. T. Birch, 1742)

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Interregnum governments and their enemies

The victory of Parliament over Charles I and the execution of the latter in January 1649 ushered in a period during which successive Interregnum regimes were faced with the constant threat of invasion from abroad and insurrection at home. The counties of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex had been secure in Parliamentary hands through the Civil War. In the spring of 1648, the Eastern Counties were convulsed by Royalist risings and the ensuing siege of Colchester, but these had been dealt with by the New Model Army under Thomas, Lord Fairfax, the Lord General, and the immediate threat to the safety of the counties was removed. But the general threat to the safety of the counties as a whole remained.[1] Negotiations between Charles II and the Parliament of Scotland were in progress throughout 1649 and 1650, and the danger of an invasion of England by the Scots was a constant possibility,[2] although the English

[1] S.R. Gardiner, The History of the Great Civil War 1642-1649, 4 vols. (second edition, London, 1893), IV, 125-7, 146-53, 197-208.

[2] S.R. Gardiner, The History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate 1649-1656 (2nd edition, London, 1903), I, 18-19, 63, 66-7, chaps. VIII-X.

government's military efforts during 1649 were directed primarily towards its campaign in Ireland.[3] After the subjugation of Ireland and the conclusion of the Treaty of Breda between Charles and the Scottish commissioners on 1 May 1650, the Scottish threat became Parliament's most immediate concern. By the summer of 1650, England and Scotland were at war.[4] The English victory at Dunbar on 3 September 1650 removed the direct threat to the Commonwealth for the time being, but the defeat of the Scots resulted in a determination by the Cavaliers to achieve the Restoration of Charles II on their own.[5] A special council was set up under Ralph, Lord Hopton, at Utrecht in Holland, and Royalist associations were brought into being in each region.[6]

The nominal Royalist commander in the Eastern Counties was the Duke of Buckingham, then with Charles II in Scotland.[7] The Royalist officers of the association were to act under Buckingham's commission and this was to be exercised in the Eastern Counties by Col. Thomas Blague, Buckingham's deputy. Blague, together with Thomas Coke, arrived in England in mid-1650 with blank commissions of shrievalty under the Great Seal for Norfolk and Suffolk. The intention was possibly to raise a posse comitatus in each county. Nothing came of this mission and by

[3] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, I, chaps. IV-VI.

[4] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, I, chap. XI.

[5] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, I, chaps. XII and XIV.

[6] D. Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy in England 1649-1660 (New Haven, 1960), pp. 33-41; J. Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters and Papers of State addressed to Oliver Cromwell (1743), pp. 34, 36-7, 49.

[7] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 37, 40.

the beginning of August Blague had left England.[8] With the failure of Blague's mission, Hopton's Council at Utrecht appointed its own agent for Norfolk, one Colonel Freeman, who landed at Southwold, probably during November, with details of plans for a new co-ordinated design to mobilize the Royalist associations in England. Eight thousand arms were to be landed in Norfolk from Holland.[9] The order for the rising to commence was, however, to come from Charles II in Scotland. In further preparation, Colonel Washington, the King's agent, sailed south via Newcastle and landed at King's Lynn, probably at about the end of November, with commissions and orders from the King. These did not include the orders to begin the rising itself, for when Washington landed, he found the county already in a state of excitement, and concluded that the rising must already have been set in motion.[10] On the night of 28 November, a party of some eighty well-armed Royalist horse assembled at Easton Heath near Norwich but quickly dispersed when it became apparent that they would not be able to succeed in their objective of seizing the city for Charles II.[11] Other parties assembled at Downham Market, Swaffham and Thetford but found themselves

[8] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 40-1; Bodleian, Clarendon MS 39, no. 30: 24 Jan. 1650; MS 40, no. 137: 9/19 Aug. 1650 (with enclosure: 2 Aug. 1650).

[9] Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, p. 49.

[10] Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, pp. 33-4; H.M.C., Portland I, p. 580; Mercurius Politicus, no. 26, p. 435: 3 Dec. 1650.

[11] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 2: 29 Nov. 1650; N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS 2994; Zachary Grey (ed.), Impartial Examination, 3 vols. (1736-9), IV, 106; Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, p. 33; C.J., VI, 504-5; Mercurius Politicus no. 26, p. 435: 3 Dec. 1650; no. 27, p. 440, 5 Dec 1650.

forestalled by Parliament's forces.[12] In fact, the rising had been set off prematurely, for Freeman had meanwhile left for Holland. He returned only after the insurrection had taken place, and was thus unable to forestall the rendezvous at Easton Heath. He probably brought the anticipated arms with him, but in the confusion these were dumped in a pond.[13]

The government's pre-emptive action against the Norfolk insurrection seriously set back Royalist plans for a rising in England.[14] However, the revived prospect of an invasion from Scotland on Charles II's behalf encouraged the Royalists to rebuild their shattered organization. In January the government received intelligence that the Royalist Eastern Association was being revived under the nominal command of the Duke of Buckingham.[15] In Essex, one Cornelius Bell of Messing was reported in evidence given on 7 July before Dionysius Wakering, J.P., one of the militia commissioners, to have said that on the twenty-fifth of that month there would be a change of government in England and that he knew of 'thousands' in that county and elsewhere who would rise for Charles

[12] H.M.C., Portland I, pp. 544-5; Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 43-5.

[13] Nicholls (ed.) Original Letters, pp. 35-7, 49.

[14] On 17 December (7 Dec. N.S.), Sir Edward Nicholas, the Secretary of State to the Royalist government in exile, expressed the opinion that there was now no possibility of a Royalist rising in England without the support of a foreign army; and the recent death of the Prince of Orange had removed all hope of the latter (B.L., Addit. MS 4180, fol. 22).

[15] Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, p. 50.

II.[16] At the end of July 1651, the Scottish army invaded England but the Eastern Counties, in common with other parts of England, did not rise for Charles II, and the Scots were defeated at the battle of Worcester.[17] After Worcester, Charles II set up the Sealed Knot, which had strong connections with the Eastern Counties. Sir William Compton, one of the members, was married to the sister of Sir Lionel Tollemache, a leading Suffolk gentleman; and Edmund Villiers, another of the members, was married to the sister of the Earl of Suffolk, the leading Suffolk peer, while the Earl himself was married to Villiers' sister.[18] However the cautious preparations of the Knot showed little sign of presenting any real danger to the government.

Despite the political upheavals of 1653 which led to the establishment of the Protectorate, there were no direct threats to the security of the regime itself, either during that year or during the first year of the Protectorate. The only exception was the Gerard plot in London in May 1654, which was quickly and easily dealt with by the government,[19] and in July, one Palmer, alias Tewder, was detained in Norwich for conspiracy.[20] However, towards the end of that year, the

[16] E.R.O., Q/S Ba/2/76, information of Richard Chiborne of Messing, Esq., an examination of Cornelius Bell. Bell had been imprisoned in Colchester castle at the Easter quarter sessions.

[17] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, II, chap. XVI.

[18] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 80, 82.

[19] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 139-49; Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 100-2.

[20] T.S.P., II, 504.

Protectorate regime was assailed from several quarters. The Republican petition of the Three Colonels, and the Seamen's Petition of October that year[21] inspired a plot by Republicans and Levellers in the army which culminated in the arrest in January 1655 of Major-General Overton, the second-in-command of the army in Scotland.[22] Towards the end of that month, one William Cobbe, of Castle Rising in Norfolk, declared that the Protectorate would be overthrown before 20 March following.[23] In February, there was a report of Hugh Courtnay, an army officer of Fifth-Monarchist principles, who had attempted to persuade the churches in Norfolk to take up arms.[24] It was also reported that the governor of Landguard fort in Suffolk had been engaged to secure the fleet for Overton's conspirators should the occasion arise.[25] Through 1654 and early 1655, there was a conspiracy by a group of Cavaliers to instigate a rising which was to take place in each of six regions of England in early March 1655. For each region there was an association similar to those of 1650.[26] Lynn was chosen as one of the chief targets of the conspirators in the Eastern Counties, since, once seized, it would be a valuable landing base for an invasion force. But the local uprising would first have to be successful if Lynn were to be seized and held

[21] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 211-18.

[22] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 226-32.

[23] T.S.P., III, 155-6, 161-2.

[24] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 268; C.H. Firth (ed.), 'The Clarke Papers', 4 vols. Camden Society, XL, LIV, LX, LXI (1891, 1894, 1900, 1901), II, 242-6; T.S.P., III, 140.

[25] T.S.P., III, 146.

[26] C.H. Firth, 'Cromwell and the Insurrection of 1655', English Historical Review, III (1888), 323-50; Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 270-82; Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, p. 137.

long enough to allow the invading army to land. Two Norfolk gentlemen in exile, Sir William Denny and Sir Miles Hobart, were sent to the county to co-ordinate the rising.[27] However, Hobart failed to gain any real entree to local Royalist circles because the Sealed Knot had considerable influence amongst the Royalists in that region and they resented Hobart's activities. Hobart's hopes of a concerted movement with the Royalists of the north foundered for lack of a 'deu correspondency'.[28] There was no rendezvous in the Eastern Counties on the night of 8 March, as there were at a number of venues in the north;[29] and the assault on the assize judges at Salisbury on 12 March did not inspire any similar attempts in the Eastern Counties.[30] Despite the failure of the Cavaliers in the Eastern Counties and in most parts of the country, the comprehensive nature of the design itself caused the Council to take it very seriously. But the Eastern Counties proved largely quiescent. The internal threat had been dealt with for the time being and attention turned instead to external threats. Hostilities and then war between England and Spain led to a number of projected invasions by the Royalist army on the continent in conjunction with the Spaniards. In terms of the Treaty of Brussels, concluded on 2

[27] Bodleian, Clarendon MS 48, no. 163: 1 May (N.S.) 1654.

[28] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 138, 154, 156, 158; Bodleian, Clarendon MS 48, no. 5: 22 Feb. 1654 (which Underdown argues from internal evidence should be dated 1655).

[29] Firth, 'Cromwell and the Insurrection of 1655', English Historical Review, IV, (1889), 313-24; Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, pp. 282-5.

[30] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, pp. 286-91.

April 1656, the Spaniards promised Charles II six thousand soldiers for an invasion of England, provided a port could first be secured at which to land them.[31] The following month, Charles II sent secret instructions to his followers in England to make preparations for a Royalist invasion, and it was proposed that Yarmouth, or an alternative port on the east coast of England be seized for this purpose.[32] In September, the English government received intelligence of a proposed invasion in England by the projected Spanish force together with a Royalist contingent about two thousand strong, mostly from Ireland, but the invasion did not materialize and in March 1657 was postponed until the following winter.[33] In April there was an attempt at a rising by a Fifth Monarchist group led by Thomas Venner, a noted dissident. The group had originally intended to march through the Eastern Counties in order to rally support for their attempt, and they had a number of contacts in Norfolk and Suffolk.[34] Towards the end of 1657, preparations for a Royalist-Spanish invasion began once again, and in January 1658, Charles' commander-in-chief, the Duke of Ormond, landed in Essex in disguise, in order to investigate the possibility of securing

[31] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, IV, 234; C.H. Firth, The Last Years of the Protectorate (London, 1909), I, 24; Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 178-9.

[32] Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate, I, 27.

[33] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, p. 181; P.J. Pinckney, 'A Cromwellian Parliament: the Elections and personnel of 1656' (Vanderbilt Ph.D., 1962), pp. 294, 301-3 (Pinckney is of the opinion that Cromwell was exaggerating the threat).

[34] Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate, I, 216-17; T.S.P., VI, 187.

Yarmouth as a landing point for the proposed invasion.[35] The plan foundered because of the inability of the Royalists in England to secure a port, and the attempt was finally abandoned in the face of a blockade by the English navy of the port of Ostend, where the force was being assembled.[36] At the old Protector's death in 1658, the Cavaliers were further from their objective of an armed restoration of Charles II than ever, and the peaceful succession of Oliver's son, Richard, did not give the Royalists any hope of restoring Charles II by direct force of arms.[37]

In 1659, the Royalists launched a new initiative to seize power. On 2 March 1659 Charles II issued the 'Plenipotentiary or Great Trust and Commission' to John, Lord Mordaunt, younger son of the Earl of Peterborough, and newly-created viscount.[38] Mordaunt was commissioned to co-operate with the Sealed Knot on the one hand and the Presbyterians on the other in order to engineer a general rising to restore Charles to the English throne. In the Eastern Counties, the Trust hoped to seize Lynn with the assistance of Horatio Townshend, a prominent Norfolk Presbyterian. Capt. James Whitelocke, son of the Lord Commissioner of the Treasury, one of the officers of the garrison at Lynn, was reported

[35] Cl.S.P., III, 377; T.S.P., VI, 614; Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate, II, 50-2, 63-5; Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 215-19.

[36] Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate, II, 66, 68; Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, p. 219.

[37] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, p. 230.

[38] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, p. 235.

to have offered his services in this regard to his uncle, Sir Humphrey Bennet, one of Charles' ministers, in May.[39] The strategic complexes of Yarmouth and Lothingland, Harwich, and Mersea Island were also designated as Royalist objectives.[40] The rising in the Eastern Counties came to nothing. Sir Horatio Townshend was not able to secure Lynn. In Suffolk there were a number of meetings at Helmingham hosted by Sir Lionel Tollemache, who had previously remained neutral, and officers were enlisted by Sir Lionel Fanshawe and Col. William Rolleston of Kettleborough. These preparations proved ineffective in the face of distrust by other leading Royalists of the area - notably Sir Henry Felton in Suffolk, and the Knot's friends in Essex, the Earl of Oxford and Lord Maynard.[41] Nevertheless, the Counties were affected by the rising in the north-west under Sir George Booth and the renewed threat of a Royalist invasion in August.[42] The country remained in a state of crisis for the rest of that year.

The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 took place not by the military overthrow of the Commonwealth regime, but rather because the command structure of the army in England was immobilized through internal dissention and had lost the initiative to George Monck, commander of the army in Scotland, who, in December 1659, restored the Rump, and in

[39] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, p. 241.

[40] Bodleian, Eng. Hist. MS e. 308, fols. 41-3.

[41] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 269-70.

[42] Austin Woolrych, introduction to The Complete Prose Works of John Milton, VII (1974), 108; Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 281-2.

1660 recalled the members of Parliament who had been secluded in 1648. Once the command structure of the army was in Monck's hands, little further resistance by Republican elements was possible, and thus Charles was able to return to England without a shot being fired.[43] The structure of defence which the Commonwealth regimes had developed and elaborated during the Interregnum remained intact, and indeed, the Restoration government itself made use of the existing military structures, and made use of them for its own defence. At the beginning of 1661, the Restoration government was faced with the Venner uprising in London,[44] but its system of defence held firm, and by 1662, the government's ability to defend itself was unchallenged.

1.2 Situation and Topography

[43] H.M. Reece, 'The military presence in England and some aspects of politics in England 1649-1660' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1981), pp. 260-6, 273-85.

[44] C.S.P.D. '61, pp. 470-1, 476-7.

1.2.1 Topography

The heartland of the Eastern Counties was the East Anglian plain of chalky glacial loam which comprised the mid-eastern part of Norfolk, High Suffolk and the northern part of Essex. To the south this plain led directly onto the lower Thames Basin which comprised most of southern Essex. To the west lay the sandy coastal margin which ran from north-east Essex along the Suffolk coast up to Yarmouth, and the western part of Norfolk was sandy as well. The Chiltern hills cut slantwise across the western edge of Suffolk and Essex, and beyond them to the north-west lay a considerable stretch of fenland, which had been only partially drained by 1649.[45]

The coast of the Eastern Counties had been part of the 'Saxon shore', the line of defences in Roman times against invaders from the continent. A number of sections of the coast offered well-situated landing places for a prospective invader, and in the largely regular line of the coast there were a number of points at which an enemy fleet could obtain anchorage.

[45] W. Hollar, 'The Mappe of Norfolke, Suffolke...' from The Kingdom of England (1644); Joannes Blaeu, Regiones inundatae finibus comitatus Norfolciae, Suffolciae,... (1648); M. Postgate, 'Field Systems of East Anglia' in A. Baker and R.A. Butlin (eds.), Studies of the Field Systems in the British Isles (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 281-2, fig. 7.1; H.C. Darby, A New Historical Geography of England before A.D. 1800 (Cambridge, 1973), figs. 56, 72 and 73.

The Wash to the north of Lynn was a hazardous and uncertain point of entry. It was traversed by sandbanks which the unpredictable tides made doubly treacherous. From there to the east, the flat and austere saltmarshes from Hunstanton onwards would have made a landing difficult, but the line was broken by a number of inlets: at Brancaster (formerly a Roman fort), Wells, and the sheltered shipping village of Blakeney. Just beyond Blakeney, at Weybourne, the salt-marshes gave way to cliffs of shingle, sand and chalk which between Sheringham and Cromer became an almost continuous barrier against any possible landing from the sea. Cromer itself provided a beach landing place and the main point of access to the hinterland east of Wells, but had few port facilities. Southwards from Cromer were cliffs again, and the country inland was broken by the stretches of water known as the Broads. At Caister (another Roman fort of the Saxon shore) the coastal strip opened out onto the flat, silted valley of the Yare and Bure in the centre of which lay the well-sheltered port of Great Yarmouth.[46]

To the south of Yarmouth lay Lothingland, usually considered part of Suffolk. It had formerly been an island formed by glacial deposits of boulder clay but was by then joined to Norfolk by the silted area around Yarmouth. It was a vital section of high ground commanding the Yare and

[46] I. Ianssonium, Norfolcia: vernacule Nolfolke (Amsterdam, 1645); Thomas Jenners, A Description and Plat of the Sea-Coasts of England from London up all the River of Thames, all along the Coasts to Newcastle (London, 1653), pp. 11-14, 17-18.

Waveney valleys. Lowestoft, to the south of Lothingland, offered a port to the hinterland, but this was much more exposed than the natural anchorage which Yarmouth provided, and access to it was far more dependent upon the tides than at Yarmouth because of the sandbanks to the south-east, and its shallow entrance. South from Lowestoft past Southwold to Aldeburgh, the coast was straight and heavily lined with sandbanks, and thus a landing could conceivably be effected by boat along its length, but at some risk, for the fleet would have little protection, as it would have to anchor in the open road. South of Aldeburgh the coast was cut across by stretches of water and marshes round Orfordness to the Deben River. Bawdsey, at the mouth of the Deben, gave access to the shipbuilding centre at Woodbridge, but the entrance of the Deben was restricted by shingle and sandbanks. Just to the south, however, lay the substantial port complex of Harwich and Ipswich around the confluence of the Stour and the Orwell. Harwich guarded the confluence from the south, while Landguard point guarded the northern side. A sea-borne assault on Ipswich would have had to pass between these two points, and even if Ipswich were taken, it would be of little use to an invader unless the lines of supply up the Stour and Orwell were also secured by the capture of both Landguard and Harwich.[47]

The Essex coastline was far more rugged and uneven than those of

[47] (W. Smith), Suffolcia Comitatus descriptio auctore C. Sexton (London, c. 1650); Jenners, Description and Plat, pp. 3-7, 10-11.

Norfolk and Suffolk. South from Harwich lay the Naze, a sand-banked and marshy promontary with only the shallowest of moorings in low tide; and from there the straight line of coast to St Osyth and Mersea Island was also very marshy. There the Colne on the one side and the Blackwater and Chelmer on the other provided a generous anchorage with numerous landing points. Southwards from there, the coast, more than for any other stretch of the coast of the Eastern Counties except perhaps for the Wash itself, was rendered inaccessible by sandbanks, watercourses and marshes. South of the Maplin Sands, Leigh Road presented a clear access to the Thames, but, again, its northern bank consisted of marshes for much of its length up to Tilbury. From there on, a landing would be somewhat more straightforward to effect.[48]

1.2.2 Rivers and roads

In the interior, an enemy army advancing towards London would find its path blocked by a number of rivers which flowed from west to east. The complex of rivers which flowed into the area around Yarmouth: the Bure, the Yare and the Waveney would each form an obstacle - especially the Waveney, which formed the boundary with Suffolk and lay between Norwich, Yarmouth and London. The several Suffolk rivers which crossed the

[48] Joannes Blaeu, 'Essexia Comitatus' in Theatrum Orbis Terrarum sive Atlas Novus, XIV (1645); John Ogilby and W. Morgan Essex actually surveyed... (London, 1678, reprinted Chelmsford, 1953); Chapman and Andre, map of Essex (1777); Jenners, Description and Plat, pp. 7-10.

eastern half of that county would similarly impede an enemy advance, and this applied particularly to the Orwell, which traversed the south-east quarter of the county, and to the Stour, which formed the boundary between Suffolk and Essex; and similarly, in Essex, there was the Colne, which flowed through Colchester, and the Chelmer, which bisected the county through Chelmsford.[49] On the other hand, navigable rivers could provide an enemy army with lines of supply. The river which could best fulfil this function was the Ouse from which branched out a network of rivers leading up to the towns of Thetford, Cambridge and even as far as Bedford.[50] The Yare could similarly provide a line of supply from Yarmouth to Norwich.[51] Should an enemy manage to capture Yarmouth, Lynn and then Norwich, he would be assured of Norfolk as a sound logistic base for an advance upon London.

Roads were a more extensive but less efficient means of communication than rivers. In the Eastern Counties, the two major routes to London ran respectively from Lynn and Yarmouth.[52] The more direct of the two, that from Lynn, was just under one hundred miles in length, and passed through the Isle of Ely and Cambridge. The terrain over which the road passed did not make it very suitable as the axis of advance for an advancing army since it ran through fenland for about half its distance,

[49] Ordnance Survey Map of XVIIth Century England (Southampton, 1936).

[50] T.S. Willan, River Navigation in England 1600-1700 (Oxford, 1936).

[51] Willan, River Navigation, pp. 147, 150.

[52] Ordnance Survey Map of XVIIth Century England.

and then along the edge of the Chilterns.[53] The Fens could be skirted by an alternative route, from Wells through Swaffham and Newmarket: a distance of some 120 miles.[54] This route met the road from Norwich at Thetford. The route from Yarmouth to London was 121 miles in length and ran down the Suffolk coast and then across the middle of Essex through Colchester and Chelmsford.[55] To avoid the numerous river crossings which that route would require, the road from Norwich to Ipswich could be taken instead,[56] and the difficult coastal region in Essex could be bypassed by striking westwards towards Bury St Edmunds to cross the Stour at Sudbury to meet the road to London at Chelmsford.[57]

1.2.3 Conclusion

The topography of the Eastern counties thus gave a number of points of tactical importance for any enemy wishing to make them a base for an advance upon London: Lynn, at the mouth of the Ouse's watersystem; Yarmouth, the gateway to Norwich, which in turn could be a valuable springboard for an advance across the open countryside of west Suffolk and Essex; the confluence of the Stour and Orwell, which could be an easily-defended seaward depot where supplies could be landed; the

[53] Joannes Blaeu, Regiones Inundatatae; John Ogilby, Britannia (London, 1675, reprinted Amsterdam 1970), pp. 85-6, plate 43.

[54] Ogilby, Britannia, pp. 103-4, plate 52.

[55] Ogilby, Britannia, pp. 107-8, plate 54.

[56] Ogilby, Britannia, pp. 147-8, plate 74.

[57] Ogilby, Britannia, pp. 183-4, plate 92.

confluence of the Colne and Blackwater, from where the road to London from Colchester could be secured; and, finally, the Thames which gave naval access to the port of London.

From a strategic point of view, the Eastern Counties were England's frontier to the North Sea, beyond which lay northern France, the Low Countries, Germany and the Baltic. An invading army from the Continent would find in the sea passage from the Low Countries a far more easily navigable route of access than the English Channel, where the sandbanks made navigation extremely hazardous, and where the cliffs of the Kent coast were a further obstacle. The position of the Eastern Counties between London and north-east England made enemy seizure of the region very dangerous to the sea route up the East Coast, which, as will be seen, was vital to London's economic life, as well as to the government's ability to mount military operations in Scotland, and later in Flanders.

1.3 Economy and society

1.3.1 Population structure

During the course of the first half of the century, the population of Norfolk and Suffolk had been growing at a steady rate (between 1603 and 1670 it probably increased from two hundred and fifty thousand to three hundred thousand) and the rate of growth of the towns was even greater, so that whereas in 1600, a quarter of the population lived in towns, by 1670 this proportion had increased to a third.[58] Norwich, with a population of approximately twenty thousand, dominated the region of Norfolk and Suffolk with about six per cent of the total. Great Yarmouth and Lynn had populations of about ten and nine thousand respectively. Those of Suffolk remained at the same level or declined over the course of the period. Ipswich especially, with a population of about seven thousand, was declining in importance. The other large town in Suffolk, Bury St Edmunds, had about six thousand inhabitants.[59] In Essex, Colchester had a population of perhaps twelve or thirteen thousand.[60] There were no other large towns in the county. Below the larger urban concentrations were the numerous market towns situated particularly on trade routes. Many of these consolidated their position during the seventeenth century - in many cases at the expense of small centres

[58] John Patten, English Towns 1500-1700 (Folkstone, 1978).

[59] Patten, English Towns, table 12, p. 251.

[60] I.G. Doolittle, 'Population Growth in Colchester and the Tendering Hundred', Essex Journal, VII (1972), 32-3. Doolittle discounts the very low figure of four thousand indicated by the Hearth Tax return of 1666.

which could not compete with the range of goods and services to which reasonably large market towns could provide access.[61] The growth and concentration of the population of the region during the seventeenth century provided a good base on which a strong defence structure could be constructed.

1.3.2 Agriculture

The Eastern Counties could be divided very roughly into two agricultural areas. North and western Norfolk and the westernmost part of Suffolk consisted predominantly of open arable fields of grain over which sheep were grazed to 'tathe' the soil, which tended to be light and sandy. The richer and heavier soils of the East Anglian plain were more suitable for pastoral grazing; and thus they were used for dairy farming.[62] The Eastern Counties, therefore, were an important regional source of food in England, and were in a position to feed not only the towns within their own area but also London, where Norfolk was an important supplier of corn next in importance, albeit on a much smaller scale, to Kent; and Suffolk provided the capital with cheese.[63] By the same token, as will

[61] Patten, English Towns, pp. 282-94.

[62] Darby, New Historical Geography, figs. 56, 57, 72 and 73; Postgate, 'Field Systems of East Anglia', fig. 7.1; K.J. Allinson, 'The Sheep-Corn Husbandry of Norfolk in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Agricultural History Review, V (1957), 12-30; M. Overton, 'Aspects of the agricultural geography of Norfolk and Suffolk from about 1580-1740' (Cambridge, Ph.D. thesis, 1981). Overton questions the usefulness of the distinction between sheep-corn and wood-pasture areas.

[63] F.J. Fisher, 'The Development of the London Food Market 1540-1640' Economic History Review, V (1935), tables I, II, and III.

be seen, the grain and cheese produced by the Eastern counties was also used to provision the army in Scotland, and later in Flanders.

1.3.3 Fishing

The fishing industry of the Eastern Counties was concentrated on Great Yarmouth, which was the most important fishing port for herring in the British Isles and the third most important in Europe.[64] Herring were caught in the seas next to Yarmouth in the first half of winter, and supplemented the food supply in the lean months following Christmas.[65] The catch was unloaded at Yarmouth and sold either to the 'host' freemen from Yarmouth itself, or to the 'pickers', mainly from Colchester, who supplied fresh herrings to London, or to boats from other coastal parts of England or the Continent. Of those landed at Yarmouth itself, a large proportion were smoked and exported to southern Europe.[66] By the 1630's, fifty-five per cent of the fishing fleet at Yarmouth was not actually involved in the herring industry, but fished exclusively for cod, or alternatively fished for cod in the North Sea, or off Iceland, from March to August; and then fished for herring with the rest, from September to December.[67] The cod industry was seriously affected by

[64] A.R. Michell, 'The port and town of Great Yarmouth and its economic and social relationships with its neighbours on both sides of the seas 1550-1714: an essay in the history of the North Sea economy' (Cambridge Ph.D. thesis, 1978), p. 51.

[65] Michell, 'Great Yarmouth', p. 58.

[66] Michell, 'Great Yarmouth', pp. 62-70.

[67] Michell, 'Great Yarmouth', pp. 57-8, 73-4.

the Civil War, especially after 1649, with first the depredations of Royalist privateers, and then the naval wars with the United Provinces and Spain.[68] Yarmouth ships were also involved in the whale fishery off Spitzbergen. In 1645, the Yarmouth ships were allocated an annual catch of 500 tons by the House of Commons alongside the 1600 tons allowed the Muscovy (Greenland) Company of London. In sum, then, Yarmouth had a particular interest in the protection of the coast of the Eastern Counties.

1.3.4 Manufacture

The wool-weaving industry was the dominant manufacturing activity in the Eastern Counties. At the end of the sixteenth century, better quality cloths, the 'new draperies', began to replace the heavier 'old draperies' as the chief item of manufacture. In Essex, the Stour, Colne and Blackwater valleys were the chief concentrations of the weaving industry. The coloured bays introduced by Dutch immigrants were made in the area east of Sudbury and Colchester, while the white bays were made in central Essex and west Suffolk.[69] The trade was a substantial one, and a major source of wealth, particularly in Norwich and

[68] Michell, 'Great Yarmouth', p. 75.

[69] J.E. Pilgrim, 'The Rise of the "New Draperies" in Essex', University of Birmin gham Historical Journal, V (1959), 37-9.

Colchester.[70] The markets in Europe for the better quality cloth kept up demand,[71] and this in turn meant that these outlets needed to be protected from foreign blockade or privateers. In addition, the weaving industry was very vulnerable to domestic instability, especially in times of economic crisis, and this in turn could provoke riots by the weavers, as happened in the Stour Valley at the beginning of the Civil War.[72] This prompted the government to intervene on a number of occasions to protect the industry. The manufacturers of bays in Essex had been regulated by the Dutch congregation at Bay Hall in Colchester since the sixteenth century, with a parallel corporation of English bay and say makers dating from 1618.[73] By Act of Parliament in 1650, a similar corporation was set up in Norwich, with branches in Great Yarmouth and Lynn, to regulate the making and sale of cloths in that area.[74] In 1656 the Norfolk weavers petitioned the Council at Whitehall for a renewal and extension of the Act, and the Council referred the matter to Maj. Hezekiah Haynes and the commissioners for securing the peace in Norfolk for investigation.[75] The Act was

[70] K.J. Allinson, 'The Norfolk Worsted Industry in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', pt 2, Yorkshire Bulletin of Social and Economic Research, XIII (1961), 70, 72; Pilgrim, 'Rise of the "New Draperies"', pp. 50-1.

[71] Pilgrim, 'Rise of the "New Draperies"', pp. 58-9.

[72] Clive Holmes, The Eastern Association in the English Civil War (Cambridge, 1974); William Hunt, The Puritan Moment: the Coming of Revolution in an English County (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); Pilgrim, 'Rise of the "New Draperies"', pp. 56-9.

[73] Pilgrim, 'Rise of the "New Draperies"', p. 51.

[74] Allinson, 'Norfolk Worsted Industry', p. 74.

[75] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p.567: 27 Feb. 1656; G.D. Ramsey, 'Industrial laissez-faire and the Policy of Cromwell' in Roots (ed.), Cromwell: a profile (London, 1973), pp. 144-5.

accordingly renewed in 1657 and again in 1662.[76]

1.3.5 Trade and shipbuilding

Trade and shipbuilding constituted yet another set of relationships within the economic structure of the region. The Eastern counties were an essential link in the transportation of coal from the Newcastle coalfields to London and south-east England. Within the Eastern Counties themselves, coal was shipped up all the principal waterways to supply an area which included most of Norfolk, south-east Suffolk, and most of Essex. This area included all the major towns in the region, apart from Thetford and Bury St Edmunds.[77] The inward traffic of coal was supplemented by the imports of timber, iron, and other materials from Northern Europe,[78] balanced by an outward traffic of corn and other agricultural and fishing products to London, north-east England, the Low Countries and the Baltic; and of woollen cloth, although the bulk of the latter was relatively small. The major corn outlets to the continent were Lynn, Wells, Blakeney and Yarmouth.[79] Ships ranged from the small parcel boats which plied the North Sea between the Eastern Counties and

[76] Allinson, 'Norfolk Worsted Industry', p. 74.

[77] J.U. Nef, The Rise of the British Coal Industry (London, 1966), pp. 79-83, map facing p. 19; Michell, 'Great Yarmouth', pp. 133-50.

[78] R. Davis, The Rise of the English Shipping Industry (1962), pp. 204-5, 212-14.

[79] Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, pp. 203-4, 208; T.S. Willan, The English Coasting Trade 1600-1750 (London, 1938), pp. 125-37.

the continent to large ships of up to four or five hundred tons. Many of the former were locally owned, but many came from the Continental ports, and these made use of the ports of Lynn, Wells and Blakeney. The larger ships were concentrated at Yarmouth, although the harbour there did not permit the entry of ships larger than 250 tons.[80] The trade of the Eastern Counties was to a certain extent sustained by the shipbuilding industry, which provided an active fleet of locally made and owned ships.[81] However, the most important shipbuilding centres, at Ipswich and Woodbridge, were declining in the middle of the seventeenth century.[82]

1.3.6 Conclusion

Overall, the Eastern Counties, placed as they were between the coal-fields of north-east England, the markets of the Low Countries and the Baltic, and the London metropolis, were a vital part of the economy of mid-seventeenth century England. The capital's dependence on coal from the Newcastle area and the supply of strategic materials from the Baltic region meant that control of the area was essential to the nation's ability to wage war at home and abroad. The wealth of the region's

[80] Davis, Rise of the English Shipping Industry, pp. 207-8, 214; Michell, 'Great Yarmouth', pp. 213-15.

[81] Michell, 'Great Yarmouth', pp. 214-15; R. Cornell 'Tudor and Stuart Harwich' (Catholic University of America Ph.D thesis, 1982), p. 48; Reed, 'Ipswich', pp. 32-6.

[82] Patten, English Towns, p. 289; M. Reed, 'Ipswich in the seventeenth century' (Leicester Ph.D thesis, 1973), pp. 36, 298.

agriculture, fishing and manufacturing industries gave added weight to the region's strategic significance.

1.4 Local Government

Both Essex and Suffolk had strong evangelical traditions from well before the time of the Protestant Reformation, but the strength of Parliament's hold on the Eastern Counties probably owed more to their proximity to London than to 'Puritan' sentiments in the counties themselves. Nevertheless, gentlemen of evangelical persuasion were prominent in the government of the Eastern Counties through the Interregnum, and the Independant and separatist congregations did, in several instances, provide men who were able to fulfil key functions in local government and defence.

1.4.1 Parish government

The basic unit of parish government was the parish. Parishes were ecclesiastical units, each centred around its parish church, but they also fulfilled a civil function and came under the supervision of the J.P.s of the county or the borough corporations in which they fell. Each parish in the county was responsible for the care of its poor, the

upkeep of its roads and the levying of rates and other impositions.[83] During the Interregnum, the parish took on a more directly civil function since church attendance was no longer enforced, and the church congregation was no longer necessarily the same as the community of the parish in which it met. The civil nature of the parish was further emphasised in 1653, when the solemnization of marriages was put in the hands of a civil registrar.[84] In the counties, the constable of each parish was responsible to the J.P.s and received orders from the J.P.s in quarter session transmitted through the high constables of the hundred to which the parish belonged.[85] In the boroughs, parishes were grouped into wards, each under the supervision of its alderman.

1.4.2 County government

County government was primarily in the hands of the justices of the peace, either in quarter session, in smaller groups or individually. To ensure continuity of county government after Pride's Purge, the Rump Parliament passed an Act to ensure that the existing justices of the peace continue in service until new commissions be issued,[86] but this

[83] E.G. Thomas, 'The Parish Overseer in Essex' (London M.A. thesis, 1956), pp. 10-16; D.H. Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book 1652-1661' Essex Record Office Publications, no. 65 (Chelmsford, 1974), pp. xiii-xiv.

[84] Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', p. xxix.

[85] Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', p.xiv.

[86] David Underdown, Pride's Purge: Politics in the Puritan Revolution (Oxford, 1971), p. 299; A.O., II, 5-6.

did not overcome widespread reluctance among J.P.s to be identified with the new regime. In February, Parliament appointed a committee 'to view the commissioners of the peace' and make recommendations accordingly to the commissioners of the Great Seal.[87] New commissions of the peace were issued for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex in early 1649,[88] and on 6 March, a special commission was issued for Suffolk to enable the swearing-in of several J.P.s who had not previously taken the oath.[89] In August, Parliament toyed briefly with the idea of giving the Committee of Indemnity the task of purging the commissions of the peace.[90] In October, the Engagement 'to be true and faithful to the Commonwealth of England... without a King and House of Lords' was framed as a test for the members of Parliament themselves, and then extended, first to various other office-holders,[91] and finally, in the Act of 2 January 1650, to all men of the age of eighteen years and over.[92] During December 1649, committees were appointed to supervise the taking of the Engagement in the counties. That for Norfolk consisted of Sir Ralph Hare and Gregory Gawsell.[93] Capt. Robert Sparrow and another ('G.C.') were commissioners for the Engagement in Suffolk.[94] We do not have those for Essex. The holding of quarter sessions continued without

[87] Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, pp. 299-300.

[88] P.R.O., C. 231/6, pp. 141-2.

[89] P.R.O., C. 231/6, p. 142.

[90] *A.O.*, III, lxxiii, II, 235-6; *C.J.*, VI, 274, 281.

[91] *C.J.*, VI, 306-7, 486; P.R.O., S.P. 18/3, no. 9, 11 (not 12) Oct. 1649; S.P. 25/63, p. 157: 19 Oct. 1649.

[92] *A.O.*, II, pp. 325-9.

[93] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 400: 17 Dec. 1649.

[94] E.R.O., D/D Qs 18: 26 Dec. 1649.

a break under the supervision of a core of gentlemen reasonably well affected to the new regime. In Norfolk the custos rotulorum, in the early 1650's was Sir Thomas Wodehouse of Kimberly, but he does not appear to have taken much part in the actual conduct of quarter sessions.[95] The conduct of quarter sessions fell largely to other gentlemen such as Sir John Hobart of Blickling and Sir Ralph Hare.[96] Hobart was a qualified supporter of the Commonwealth and Protectorate,[97] while Hare was somewhat more ambiguous in his loyalties.[98] By 1656 the custos in Norfolk was Maj.-Gen. Philip Skippon,[99] who, like Wodehouse, probably did not play much part in day-to-day county affairs.[100] After the attempted rising of July 1659, the Council decided to tighten up its appointment of J.P.s. In late September, the county commissions of the peace were re-modelled.[101] The custos rotulorum in Suffolk during the 1650's was William Heveningham, a prominent Rumper.[102] The custodes rotulorum in Essex

[95] P.R.O., C. 193/13/4; C.U.L., Dd.8.1; P.J. Pinckney, 'A Cromwellian Parliament: the Elections and Personnel of 1656' (Vanderbilt Ph.D. thesis, 1962), p.103; E. Howell James (ed.), 'Norfolk Quarter Sessions Order Book 1650-7' Norfolk Record Society, XXVI (Norwich, 1955), p. 5. Walter Rye, Norfolk Families, (Norwich, 1913), II, 1025. Howell James is of the opinion that Wodehouse continued as custos until his death in 1658 but Skippon had succeeded him before that. The last mention of Wodehouse in the order-book is in 1655.

[96] Howell James (ed.), 'Norfolk Quarter Sessions Order Book', passim.

[97] R.I. Butterfield, 'East Anglia: Provincial Life and Politics during the Great Interregnum' (Michigan Ph.D. thesis, 1981), pp. 188, 205, 239; Pinkney, 'Cromwellian Parliament', p. 101.

[98] Butterfield, 'East Anglia', pp. 189, 201-2, 206.

[99] P.R.O., C. 193/13/6; C. 193/13/5.

[100] Howell James (ed.), 'Norfolk Quarter Sessions Order Book', passim; N.N.R.O., C.S. 2/2.

[101] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 612, 614: 23 Sept. 1659.

[102] P.R.O., C. 193/13/4; C. 193/13/6; C. 193/13/5; C.U.L. Dd.8.1.

between 1650 and 1656 were successively Sir Henry Mildmay and Sir William Masham, both of whom were on the Rump's Council of State, and then, from 1656, Sir Thomas Honeywood, a leading supporter in that county of both the Commonwealth and Protectorate.[103] Perhaps for his loyalty to the Protectorate, the restored Rump replaced Honeywood in June 1659 as custos with Sir Henry Mildmay,[104] but it is not known who were included in the new lists of J.P.s. After the return of the secluded members in early 1660, the commission of the peace included leading Royalists such as Sir Lionell Tollemache and Sir Henry Felton, together with others who had been active throughout the Commonwealth and Protectorate, such as Sir Thomas Barnardiston, Robert Brewster and Brampton Gurdon. William Heveningham, who remained a militia commissioner, was not retained on the commission of the peace.[105] After the Restoration, the custos rotulorum of Norfolk was Sir Philip Wodehouse, son of Sir Thomas.[106] In Suffolk, the Earl of Suffolk was appointed both lord lieutenant and custos of the county.[107] In Essex, the custos was Charles Rich, fourth Earl of Warwick, son of the Parliamentary earl who had died in 1658.[108]

[103]Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', pp. xxxviii, xxxvii, xxxvi.

[104]C.J., VII, 693.

[105]Bodleian, Tanner MS 226, fols 58-59v.

[106]P.R.O., C. 220/9/4; Howell James (ed.), 'Norfolk Quarter Sessions Order Book', p.5; Pinkney, 'Cromwellian Parliament', pp. 103, 316. Rye, Norfolk Families, II, 1025.

[107]P.R.O., C. 220/9/4; C.J., VII, 860; G.E. Cokayne (ed. G.H. White), Complete Peerage (London, 1953).

[108]P.R.O., C. 220/9/4; C.J., VII, p. 860; Cokayne, Complete Peerage.

The Counties did not have central treasuries for the management of county finances. A number of county funds existed, each with one or more treasurers. In Essex the county funds were grouped together and allocated to treasurers for the east and west divisions of the county.[109] In Norfolk, there was a similar division but at least three different pairs of treasurers were appointed.[110] It is not known how the county treasurers in Suffolk were chosen. Treasurers for Upper (King's) Bench and Marshalsea were appointed in terms of the Poor Relief Act of 1601 to collect the county poor rate set on each parish.[111] County pensions for disabled soldiers were paid out of the rates collected by the treasurers of maimed soldiers and appointed under the Disabled Soldiers Act of 1601.[112] Under the Vagabonds Act of 1572, there was the county fund for the relief of poor prisoners in the county gaol.[113] Apart from these three statutory funds, there were special funds set up by the J.P.s in quarter session for the repair of bridges, maintenance of beacons and various other county responsibilities.[114] The machinery for collecting rates was thus well established, and could be used by the assessment commissioners whom Parliament appointed to

[109] Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', pp. xvii, xix-xx, index p. 235.

[110] Howell James (ed.), 'Norfolk Quarter Sessions Order Book', pp. 12-13.

[111] 43 Eliz. cap. 2; Howell James (ed.), 'Norfolk Quarter Sessions Order Book', p. 13; Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', pp. xviii-xix.

[112] 43 Eliz., cap. 3.

[113] 14 Eliz., cap. 2; Howell James (ed.), 'Norfolk Quarter Sessions Order Book', p. 13; Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', p. xix.

[114] Howell James (ed.), 'Norfolk Quarter Sessions Order Book', pp. 13-15; Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', pp. xix-xxii.

raise money from the counties for the pay of the army.

The chief officer of the Crown in each county was the sheriff, but, by the mid-seventeenth century, his position had become largely a formal one, and the holder was liable to a heavy financial outlay for which he obtained little personal advantage or influence. A real constraint on the government in its choice of sheriffs was the traditional shrieval obligation to entertain the justices of assize, which placed a considerable financial burden on the sheriff and meant that those appointed needed to be relatively wealthy.[115] Frequently the shrieval candidates attempted to avoid having to take up the office. Sir Ralph Hare and Sir William Harvey, appointed sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk, respectively, by the Rump Parliament in November 1650,[116] were subsequently threatened by Parliament with fines of a thousand pounds apiece should they refuse to take their oath of shrievalty.[117] In early 1656 the Protectorate government attempted to mitigate this burden by giving the responsibility of escorting the justices to the major-generals appointed by it in 1655, but with only partial success.[118] Those chosen were not necessarily supporters of the government. In 1656,

[115]B.W. Quintrell, 'The government of the county of Essex 1603-1642' (London Ph.D. thesis, 1965), pp. 90-1; A. Hassell Smith, County and court: government and politics in Elizabethan Norfolk 1558-1603 (Oxford, 1975), p. 138.

[116]C.J., VI, p.492.

[117]C.J., VI, 505, 525.

[118]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 534: 13 Feb. 1656; Pinkney, 'Cromwellian Parliament', p. 73.

Hezekiah Haynes reported that he had found only one sympathetic sheriff in the counties under his charge - that of Norfolk.[119]

The day-to-day affairs of the shrievalty were conducted by the under-sheriff and his staff. The duties were both financial and legal. The financial duties included the collection of the Crown's traditional rents and revenues in the county, for which the under-sheriff accounted at the Exchequer on the sheriff's behalf each Easter and Michaelmas. The employment of the sheriffs for raising the ship money of the 1630s had shown up the inadequacy of the office for bearing any such major responsibility.[120] On the legal and administrative side, the under-sheriff was assisted by a number of bailiffs errant to assist him in carrying out the orders of the county court.[121] The shrievalty had its own monthly court to hear minor causes, presided over by the the under-sheriff with the assistance of the county clerk. The court, as the official assembly of the freemen of the county, was also the place for publishing government proclamations and for the election of knights of the shire.[122] Sheriffs were able to influence both these activities, either by their choice of time and venue for the county court or by

[119]T.S.P., V, 230; Pinkney, 'Cromwellian Parliament', pp. 98-9, 104; 'List of Sheriffs', p.89.

[120]G.L. Owens, 'Norfolk 1620-1641: local government and central authority in an East Anglian community' (Wisconsin Ph.D. thesis, 1970), pp.412-73; Quintrell, 'Essex', p. 90.

[121]Hassell Smith, County and court, pp. 141-2; Quintrell, 'Essex', p.95-6.

[122]Hassell Smith, County and court, pp. 140-1, 153; Quintrell, 'Essex', pp. 95-6, 100-4.

refusing to carry out either function at all. Thus even though much of the power which had previously belonged to the sheriffs was more formal than real, recalcitrant sheriffs could still disrupt the government's policies to a certain extent, and, to circumvent this, the governments of the Interregnum attempted on a number of occasions to work through alternative channels, notably through military officers stationed in the localities.

The body of freeholders of the county was represented at quarter sessions by the grand jury, who were impanelled by the county sheriffs from the freeholders of the various hundreds.[123] Apart from the strictly judicial function of finding 'true bills' against those charged with criminal offences,[124] the grand jury performed the important administrative task of bringing to the attention of the county court those matters in the county at large which needed the attention of the justices of the peace.[125] They could also speak for the general body of freeholders of their county through petitions to Parliament. The grand jury petitions through the Interregnum provided Parliament with a ready means of gauging the acceptability of their civil and military arrangements in each county.

[123]Hassell Smith, County and court, p. 91.

[124]Hassell Smith, County and court, pp. 92-3; J.A. Sharpe, 'Crime in the county of Essex 1620-1680: a study of offences and offenders at the assizes and quarter sessions' (Oxford D.Phil. thesis, 1978), pp. 37-8.

[125]Quintrell, 'Essex', p. 71.

1.4.3 Borough government

Borough government functioned separately from the government of the counties, since at least the larger boroughs in the region were self-regulating corporations. The corporations comprised the freemen of the borough, and were governed according to the corporation charter, usually by an assembly of the chief officers and other leading freemen of the borough. In the wake of the Royalist risings of 1648, the corporations were purged and put in the hands of those sympathetic to the regime at Westminster. Lynn had been under Parliamentary control since 1643, when the Royalist seizure of the town had been defeated and the influence of the leading Royalist family in that area, the L'Estranges, had been removed.[126] Among the group of aldermen who had controlled the borough during the war were Thomas Toll and Joshua Greene, who also commanded the town militia during the Interregnum.[127] In Norwich, the

[126]H.J. Hillen, The History of the Borough of King's Lynn (Norwich, 1907), p. 373; Butterfield, 'East Anglia', p. 132. The two Royalist mayors of 1642 and 1643, Thomas Gurlyn and Edward Hudson, did not serve in that office again (Henry Harrod, Report on the Records of...King's Lynn (London, 1854), pp. 146-7).

[127]Toll and Greene served in 1646 and 1655, and 1652 and 1659 respectively. Toll was discharged as alderman after the Restoration (N.N.R.O., KL/C7/11, fol. 70) as was Doughty Wormell, mayor in 1650 (fol. 59). However, Toll was the bearer of a congratulatory address to Charles II in 1660, as were Greene, Robert Thorowgood, mayor in 1656, Benjamin Holly, mayor in 1657, and Henry Bell, mayor in 1658 (fol. 43v). Moreover, Holly and Bell, together with John Basset, mayor in 1653, and Thomas Greene, mayor in 1654, were mayors again after the Restoration (Harrod, Report, pp. 146-7). Toll, both Greenes and Wormell were among the pro-Cromwellian group whom Lieut.-Col. John Biscoe was advised to reappoint with the remodelling of the Lynn corporation in 1655 (Bodleian, MS A 28, fol. 728).

Royalist-inclined mayor and deputy-mayor were deposed in the spring of 1648 despite violent popular resistance, and the corporation was put in the hands of a group of 'Independents' led by Alderman Christopher Baret, and was further purged by authority of an Act of Parliament early the next year.[128] The corporation of Great Yarmouth was purged in August 1649[129] and power passed mainly to the group led by Maj. William Burton, from the Independent congregation of that town,[130] but the control of the town's government was shared equally between Independents and Presbyterians.[131] Ipswich, from the beginning of the Civil War until the implementation of the Corporation Act in 1663, was dominated by a small group of aldermen of radical religious and political views who monopolised the office of bailiff in the town, although two Presbyterian moderates, the brothers Francis and Nathaniel Bacon, were also prominent in the corporation.[132] The bailiffs of the town gave consistent and reliable support to the successive governments of the Interregnum period, especially during the Dutch War.[133] Bury St Edmunds had been the scene of a confrontation between local Parliamentarians and Royalists in Easter 1648, but throughout the period

[128]C.J., VI, 153, 158; A.O, III, lxviii; J.T. Evans, Seventeenth-Century Norwich: Politics, Religion and Government 1620-1690 (Oxford, 1979), pp. 174-81, 184-6; Butterfield, 'East Anglia' pp. 93-9, 133.

[129]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 148v-149.

[130]Butterfield, 'East Anglia', pp. 129-30, 144-7, 195-8, 243.

[131]A loyal address of December 1658 to the new Lord Protector included the names of seven members of the assembly designated 'I' and five designated 'P'; and the two bailiffs were 'I' and 'P' respectively (P.R.O., S.P. 18/184, no. 185, Dec. 1658).

[132]Reed, 'Ipswich', pp. 257-8; Butterfield, 'East Anglia', pp. 199, 244.

[133]Butterfield, 'East Anglia', p. 154.

it remained securely in the hands of government supporters such as John Clarke, Thomas Chaplin and Samuel Moody, aldermen of the town.[134] In Essex, Colchester's corporation had been purged after the town had been seized by the Royalist forces under Lord Goring in 1648, and a group led by Henry Barrington took control of the corporation until 1652 when the balance swung in favour of the Presbyterian group in the Common Council, who then used their supremacy to expel Barrington and some of his associates. By order of the Council at Whitehall, the expelled members were reinstated, and, through the direct intervention of Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, the deputy major-general, Barrington was temporarily restored to his ascendancy within the corporation.[135]

Borough income came from a variety of tolls, dues, fees, fines and rents to which the corporations were entitled under their charter or had acquired over the years. The revenues were collected and kept usually by the town chamberlains, although other officials were also entrusted with certain funds which they might either collect or keep themselves, or hand over to the Chamberlain. In Yarmouth, Norwich and Lynn, the muragers looked after the various revenues allocated for the maintenance of the town walls.[136] By an Ordinance of 1643, the bailiffs and aldermen of Yarmouth were empowered to impose rates on the inhabitants of the town

[134] Butterfield, 'East Anglia', pp. 106-8, 199.

[135] J.H. Round, 'Colchester during the Commonwealth', English Historical Review, XV (1900), pp. 648-59.

[136] J.C. Tingay, 'The grants of Murage to Norwich, Yarmouth and Lynn', Norfolk Archaeology, XVIII (1914), 125-48; N.N.R.O., Y/C27/2, passim.

in order to pay for fortifications and their garrisoning.[137]

1.4.4 The regional legal structure

The counties and boroughs together fell within the jurisdiction of the justices of assize. The assizes were both means by which the government demonstrated its power to govern in the localities, and were a platform for it to make known its policies at a local level; but in both respects, the ability of the government to ensure the success of its policies was limited both by the independence which the judges enjoyed because of their high professional standing, and by the juries, who were empaneled from the localities at large. To protect its officers and officials, and to give it a lever to ensure that the composition and decisions of the local courts did not restrict the ability of those acting under its authority to carry out their duties, Parliament set up the Indemnity Committee under the Indemnity Ordinance of 21 May 1647.[138] This could halt proceedings in local courts brought against officers of the State for actions done in the course of duty, and disable others from obstructing the enforcement of state security. In fulfillment of the latter function, the Indemnity Committee conducted a thorough purge in 1649 of those had been implicated in the supply of the Royalist ships off the coast in mid-1648 or who had obstructed the

[137]A.O., I, 132.

[138]A.O., I, 936-8.

garrisoning of the town shortly thereafter.[139] To deal with those who had acted directly against the State, the government on a number of occasions set up High Courts of Justice, on the model of that set up in January 1649 to try the King, notably in December 1650 after the Norfolk insurrection.[140] Parliament's initial resolution, on 3 December, to try those involved in the insurrection by a special commission of oyer and terminer, [141] was set aside three days later on the advice of both Nathaniel Rich, the colonel of the regular regiment of horse in the area,[142] and Robert Jermy, colonel of the Norfolk county regiment of horse.[143] Instead of the commission of oyer and terminer, Parliament resolved that a special High Court of Justice be set up at Norwich with jurisdiction over Norfolk and the surrounding counties.[144] This device tended to be counter-productive, for the use of such an obviously partisan means to short-circuit the due process of law discredited the government's claim to be itself the upholder of law and order, and demonstrated its heavy reliance on naked coercion. The Act of Oblivion of 1652 effectively renounced the use of extraordinary judicial

[139] Butterfield, 'East Anglia', pp. 129-30.

[140] Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, p. 34; Grey (ed.), Impartial Examination, IV, 106; H.M.C., Portland, I, 545; C.J., VI, 506-7; N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS, 2994.

[141] C.J., VI, 504.

[142] Grey (ed.), Impartial Examination, p. 106.

[143] H.M.C., Portland, I, 545. Rich particularly argued that disaffection in the areas from which the conspirators came was so rife that a county jury would not be 'apt to find for the Commonwealth'. George Bishop, Parliament's assistant chief of intelligence, acidly put it on the day after the insurrection: 'I trust the Lord will teach the parliament to deal with these as vipers and prosecute their discoveries'. (Nicholls, ed., Original Letters, p.34.)

[144] C.J., VI, 506-7; A.O., II, 492-3.

procedures,[145] and from then on and both during the during the Protectorate and after the Restoration, those who acted against the State were brought to trial in the traditional courts under the general commissions of oyer and terminer. [146]

For the assizes, Essex was part of the Home circuit, which included the counties of south-east England, while Norfolk and Suffolk fell into the Norfolk circuit, which ran inland through Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Bedfordshire up to and including Buckinghamshire.[147] Two judges were commissioned for each of the twice-yearly circuits and they would sit at a number of venues in each circuit over a total of some three weeks. Since Essex and the counties

[145]Hardacre, Royalists, pp. 93-4; A.O., II, 565-77.

[146]P.R.O., Asz. 35/90/7/47 and Asz. 35/90/8/35, indictment of Timothy Read of Thaxstead, clerk, for scandalous words against Parliament, found not guilty: 26 July 1649; Asz. 35/96/2/24-5, indictment of Thomas Sorrell of South Ockenden, gent., for seditious words against the Lord Protector, found not guilty: winter 1655; Asz. 35/96/2/6, indictment of James Parnell of Great Coggeshall for seditious words against the magistrates, found guilty and fined 40 marks: 11 Aug. 1655; Asz. 35/97/34, gaol delivery of James Parnell, to remain in gaol: 24 Mar. 1656; Asz. 35/104/2, gaol delivery of William Williams, John Salter, Isaac Dulham, Thomas Ice, for refusing to take the Oath of Allegiance, to remain in gaol: 13 Aug. 1663. E.R.O., Q/SR 352, nos. 40, 101, recognizances etc. for Thomas Page, smith, William Chapman, tanner and Nicholas Green, shoemaker to appear at the next quarter sessions for speaking scandalous words against the supreme judicature of England: 19 Apr. 1652; Q/S Ba 2/91: informations against John Milton of Stanstead Mountfitchet, blacksmith, for seditious words: 23 Apr. 1655; Q/SR 368, no true bill against Philemon Brewer, for trampling on the Lord Protector's warrent (also Q/S Ba 2/96): 20 Jan. 1656; Q/SR 387, nos. 26-9: information against Samuel Rayment of Billericay, for seditious words: 8 May 1661; Q/SR 392, no. 52, subpoena for witnesses against Nicholas Wright of Hornchurch, wheelwright, for seditious words: 23 Jan. 1663.

[147]Guide to the Contents of the Public Record Office, p. 127.

of the Home circuit were close to London, the role of the justices of assize, as the government's spokesmen, was less important than it was for counties further away from London, and there was no consistent pattern in the choice of judges appointed to ride that circuit.[148] The clerks of the Home circuit from 1650 on were John and Thomas Lee. The former was probably only an acting clerk, who took charge of the winter circuits of 1650 and 1651. They were related by marriage to John Eldred, who had been clerk of assizes from 1625 to 1649, and, since the Lees went on virtually to monopolize the Home circuit clerkships and associateships after the Restoration, their tenure probably had no pronounced political associations during the Interregnum.[149] For the Norfolk circuit, the choice of Oliver St John, Chief Justice of Common Pleas and Chancellor of Cambridge University, to ride the circuit no less than twelve times out of a total of twenty-four, indicates perhaps a special government concern for that area; particularly since a special patent of non obstante was required for him to do so. He rode the circuit four times in succession after the winter of 1650, a time when Norfolk was a potential danger-point. After the troubled winter of 1654-5 he rode out eight times, for the most part accompanied by Edward Atkyns, one of his fellow justices in the court of Common Pleas.[150] This was no doubt intended by the government to reinforce its authority

[148]J.S. Cockburn, A History of English Assizes 1558-1714 (Cambridge, 1967), appendix I.

[149]Cockburn, English Assizes, appendix VII.

[150]Cockburn, English Assizes, appendix I; D.N.B.

in the region, since St John had considerable and independent political weight. In his Grand Jury charge at the Thetford assizes in March 1658, he issued what amounted to a warning against localism.[151] The clerk for the Norfolk circuit from the winter of 1647 was Edward Gerard, who, from the winter of 1656, had as one of his associates, Thomas Gerard. Both continued in service until the summer of 1659. It is not unlikely that they were then removed on political grounds, for they had replaced George Parker, who had served as clerk up to the winter of 1642, and who served again in the summer of 1660.[152] This bears out the impression that the character of the Norfolk circuit was influenced by political considerations.

1.4.5 Conclusion

Despite the numerous special committees which Parliament had set up in the localities during the Civil War, it was on the traditional institutions in the counties and boroughs that the burden of local government primarily rested. The two key institutions which maintained the military structure during the Interregnum, the assessment commission and the militia commission, fitted into the existing county and borough institutions and drew upon the organization which belonged to them.

[151]B.L. Addit MS 25276.

[152]Cockburn, English Assizes, appendix VII.

1.5 Central Government

1.5.1 Parliament and the Council of State

The counties and boroughs were both represented at a national level in Parliament, which had, by 1646, been established as the supreme authority in England, since its claims had been vindicated by its defeat of the King's attempt to subordinate its jurisdiction to his personal prerogative. This achievement was offset by the hostility to its rule even by many who had initially supported Parliament's cause against the King in 1642, and in the course of 1647, Parliament found itself at the mercy of the New Model Army, which it had created to win the war.[153] The risings of 1648 and the purge of Parliament by the New Model at the end of that year caused a number of M.P.s to cease sitting at Westminster either because they had been excluded or because they wished to disassociate themselves from the army's action and the subsequent trial and execution of the King.[154]

At the apex of the the new executive structure which Parliament created after the King's execution was the Council of State, constituted

[153]Ivan Roots, The Great Rebellion 1642-1660 (London, 1966), chaps. XII-XIV; Mark Kishlansky, Rise of the New Model Army (Cambridge, 1979), part II.

[154]Underdown, Pride's Purge, pt II.

in February 1649 and then re-elected periodically until the expulsion of the Rump.[155] Of the members of the Council over the period, a number had direct connections with the Eastern Counties: Valentine Walton, governor of Lynn, the two Essex M.P.s, Sir Henry Mildmay and Sir William Masham, and the Ipswich M.P., John Gurdon. All these served on most of the Councils of State up to the expulsion of the Rump. Of those who served for shorter periods there was William Heveningham, M.P. for Stockbridge, who was custos rotulorum of Suffolk, and William Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, who had been recruited to the Commons for Lynn after Pride's Purge, both being members of the first two Councils of State; and Charles Fleetwood, whose regiment was stationed in the Eastern Counties after 1649 and who sat on the third, fourth and sixth Councils of State.[156] The Council worked closely with the specialist Parliamentary committees which dealt with the armed forces, most notably the Army Committee for the army's pay,[157] and the Ordnance Committee, for the supply of stores and equipment.[158] Among the M.P.s appointed to the Army Committee set up in April 1649 were Sir Henry Mildmay and Sir William Masham, the two Essex knights of the shire.[159] The Army Committee appointed at the beginning of 1652, also included Col.

[155] G.E. Aylmer, The State's Servants: the Civil Service of the English Republic 1649-1660 (London, 1973), pp. 17-19.

[156] C.S.P.D., '49-50, '50, '51, '51-2, '52-3 (tables of daily attendances).

[157] A.O., II, 63-5, 562-4, 688-9, 703-8, 835-9, 939-40, 1403-7; Aylmer, State's Servants, p.18.

[158] H.C. Tomlinson, Guns and Government (London, 1979), p. 9.

[159] A.O., II, 64.

Valentine Walton, governor of Lynn;[160] He was reappointed at the end of that year.[161] Sir William Masham was added to the Ordnance Committee in August 1650.[162]

The expulsion of the Rump in 1653[163] broke the direct link between the Eastern Counties and the Council, and the only member of the Interim Council of State appointed in May who had connections with the Counties was Charles Fleetwood.[164] Fleetwood was also a member of the Council set up in December 1653 under the Instrument of Government.[165] Those who were nominated to Parliament included several of those prominent in the organization of defence in their counties. To a certain extent the Protectorate allowed a number of former Royalists to return to political life, but this did not necessarily bring them over to support the new government, and the Parliament of 1654 contained the leading militia commissioners for both Norfolk and Suffolk, the former headed by Sir John Hobart and the latter by Sir Thomas Banardiston.[166] After the expulsion of the Rump, an entirely new Army Committee was appointed, on which Maj. Ralph Woolmer was the only representative from the Eastern Counties.[167] During the Protectorate, the Committee was reduced in

[160] A.O., II, 562.

[161] A.O., II, 689.

[162] P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, p.43: 2 Aug. 1650.

[163] Roots, Great Rebellion, chap. XVIII.

[164] C.S.P.D. '52-3 (table of daily attendances).

[165] J.P. Kenyon, The Stuart Constitution 1603-1688 (Cambridge, 1966), p.345.

[166] Return of the Names of every Member returned to serve in each Parliament..., H.C. 69 (1878), LXXII, pt I, pp. 501-2.

[167] A.O., II, 704.

size even more, and consisted entirely of professional administrators with no representatives on it from the Eastern Counties.[168] The attempted rising by Royalists and others in the winter of 1654-55 created new hostility between the government and its Royalist opponents, and the mooted settlement, in the form of the Humble Petition and Advice,[169] was arrived at only at the cost of support from the army officers, among them Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, whose melancholy despatches during the 1656 elections had testified to his sense of being excluded from the rewards of his own costly labours.[170] However, several of those who had been the government's chief agents in the defence of the region both under the Commonwealth and the Protectorate were elected nevertheless.[171] Haynes' complaints were borne out yet more fully by the Parliament elected in 1659 after the old Protector's death, which included such longstanding conservative opponents of the government from the Eastern Counties as John Hobart of Norwich, and Sir William D'Oyley of Norfolk, both of whom had been excluded from the 1656 Parliament.[172] Yet even here many of those who had served in the regime's system of defence were returned. The army coup d'etat of April 1659 led to the overthrow of the Protectorate and the restoration of the

[168]A.O., II, 835.

[169]Roots, Great Rebellion, chap. XXIII.

[170]T.S.P., V, 165, 220, 230, 297, 311-3, 328.

[171]Return of the Names of every Member, p. 505; Hudson Gurney (ed.), 'Poll for members returned to parliament for the county of Norfolk, August 20, 1656', Norfolk Archaeology, I (1847); Pinkney, 'Cromwellian Parliament', pp. 102, 105-6, 106-7.

[172]Return of the Names of every Member, pp. 508-10; Pinkney, 'Cromwellian Parliament', p. 103 (for D'Oyley); Evans, Norwich, pp. 218-19 (for Hobart).

Rump.[173] Among the forty-two M.P.s who resumed their seats were Thomas Atkins of Norwich and Sir Henry Mildmay, the previously dicredited member for Malden,[174] but neither the election of these members, nor the petitions from Norfolk and Norwich in June,[175] and from Suffolk in July[176] were truly representative of the sentiments in the counties. Charles Fleetwood was a member of the Rump Council of State and the Committee of Safety which took over the government later that year,[177] but his connections with the Counties were by now tenuous. Prominent members of the civil and military administration of all three counties were signatories to a remonstrance which condemned the seizure of power by the army grandees in October.[178] The Army Committee, too, continued to be made up, as during the Protectorate, of a group of professional administrators with no representatives from the Eastern Counties.[179] The ground was prepared in early 1660 for the return of the secluded members, by widely-subscribed petitions from Norfolk and Suffolk,[180] and, later, from Essex.[181] The Council of State appointed by the restored Parliament included the Norfolk moderates, Sir John Holland and

[173]Austin Woolrych, introduction to The Complete Prose Works of John Milton (1974), VII, 65-6, 71.

[174]D. Brunton and D. Pennington, Members of the Long Parliament (1956), pp. 60-1, 125-6; B.L., Stowe MS 182 (for speech by Tomas Atkins probably in Jan. 1660).

[175]C.J., VII, 693.

[176]C.J., VII, p. 726.

[177]C.S.P.D. '58-9, '59-60 (tables of daily attendances).

[178]P.R.O., S.P. 18/205, no. 21: 16 Nov. 1659.

[179]A.O., II, 1403.

[180]P.R.O., S.P. 18/219, nos. 28, 29, 31, 40: Jan. 1660; H.M.C., Townshend, p. 24; Everitt, Suffolk and the Great Rebellion, no. 144.

[181]H.M.C., Fifth Report, appendix I, p. 343.

Sir John Potts.[182] After the Restoration, the Privy Council which met under the King's authority assumed, at least in form, the executive power which the Councils of the Interregnum period had exercised.

1.5.2 The Council's secretariat and the Post Office

A number of officials assisted the government in its task. The Council's correspondence was kept by its secretariat headed under the Commonwealth by a Secretary[183] and under the Protectorate by the Secretary of State, John Thurloe.[184] Individual Council orders were executed by the Sergeants of Arms, Edward Dendy[185] and Edward Birkhead,[186] both of whom had connections with the Eastern Counties. General orders were distributed by the twelve Council messengers, each allocated to a specific area of the country.[187] The corporations of coastal towns were on occasions ordered to provide transport for the Council's messengers, as in June 1652 when the bailiffs of Yarmouth were ordered to hire a ketch to carry the Council's messenger to the fleet.[188]

Day-to-day communications were maintained by the Post Office, which,

[182]C.S.P.D '59-60 (table of attendances).

[183]Aylmer, State's Servants, p.21.

[184]Aylmer, State's Servants, pp. 258-9.

[185]Aylmer, State's Servants, p. 419.

[186]Aylmer, State's Servants, p. 66.

[187]Aylmer, State's Servants, p. 12; see, for example, P.R.O., S.P 25/28, fol. 86v, where Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex with their constituent towns were a region assigned to messenger Gifford.

[188]P.R.O., S.P. 25/29, p. 63: 30 June 1652.

at the time of Pride's Purge, was in the hands of Edmund Prideaux, the Attorney-General.[189] In March 1650, Parliament resolved that the strategically crucial office of the Postmasters, inland and foreign, should be at Parliament's sole disposal, and that the management of the posts should be settled 'in the best way for the advantage and safety of the Commonwealth'.[190] The service was therefore restructured to ensure that its management be in the hands of those well-affected to Parliament and that tight security be maintained. It was only after the expulsion of the Rump that the new arrangements were finally put into effect. On 30 June 1653, one John Manley was given the monopoly of all postal services in the British Isles;[191] and this contract was confirmed by an Ordinance of 2 September 1654.[192] The fact that all the posts now passed through Manley's hands gave the government a useful means of tracking down conspiracies and seizing seditious material. Secret instructions to Manley's deputies bade them send up private correspondence to London,[193] where a special agent, Isaac Dorislaus, the son of the assassinated English Ambassador to the United Provinces, was employed by John Thurloe, the Secretary of State, to open and reseal letters, and to report his discoveries.[194] The postmasters at the

[189]H. Robinson, The British Post Office (Princeton, 1948), pp. 39-40; Aylmer, State's Servants, pp. 19-20, 272.

[190]C.J., VI, 385.

[191]P.R.O., S.P. 18/36, no. 26a: 7 May 1653; S.P. 25/69, pp. 34-6, 457-8: 7 May and 30 June 1653.

[192]A.O., II, 1007-13.

[193]P.R.O., S.P. 18/42, no. 101: [Dec.?] 1653.

[194]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A 477, fol. 10; C.H. Firth, 'Thurloe and the Post Office' English Historical Review, XIII (1898), 527-33.

various stations themselves acted as the government's intelligence agents, and they were given a special brief to keep watch on travellers and disaffected persons in their vicinity, and to report any discoveries to the governors at nearby garrisons.[195]

In the Eastern Counties, Manley's contract required him to set up a postal service between London and Yarmouth.[196] The service was especially vital to the government because of the naval operations which were conducted off the coast during that year.[197] In August 1653, the postmasters at the Yarmouth Road were ordered to maintain a chain of horses from London in order to see that rapid communications were maintained with the fleet.[198] At the end of September, Manley petitioned the Council against a number of interlopers, among them one Nicholas Reader of Norwich and one Mr Bull of Bury St Edmunds, who, in contravention of a Council injunction of 1 September, were carrying letters between Norwich and London.[199] Reader was summoned before the Council a fortnight later and restrained upon bail.[200] Thus the Council ensured that the monopoly of the postal service in the Eastern Counties, which, as elsewhere, was so vital to its intelligence system, was maintained.

[195]P.R.O., S.P. 18/42, no. 101: [Dec. ?] 1653.

[196]P.R.O., S.P. 18/36, no. 26a: 7 May 1653.

[197]P.R.O., S.P. 25/41, p. 73: 8 Apr. 1653; Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 33-9, 46.

[198]P.R.O., S.P. 25/70, p. 325: 8 Aug 1653.

[199]P.R.O., S.P. 25/70, p. 325: 1 Sept. 1653; S.P. 25/71, p. 23: 30 Sept. 1653.

[200]P.R.O., S.P. 25/71, p. 97: 10 Oct. 1653.

Thurloe's system of intelligence was further consolidated when, in July 1655, he himself took over the farm of the Post Office from Manley[201] and his control over all the posts was confirmed by the Lord Protector's orders of August that year.[202] The contract expired in 1657, but, in terms of the Act of 9 June of that year, Thurloe continued to control the Post Office by appointment of the Lord Protector under the Great Seal.[203] After the Restoration, Col. Henry Bishop, who had been an active Royalist conspirator during the Interrrgnum was appointed Postmaster-General,[204] and the Post Office was 'legally settled' by an Act passed at the end of that year.[205]

1.5.3 The navy

Naval affairs were a major part of the Council's business throughout the Interregnum period. The command of the navy at the beginning of 1649 belonged to the Earl of Warwick, Parliament's Lord High Admiral, who had held that office during the Civil War, and had been reappointed in May 1648.[206] After Pride's Purge, this commission was repealed and the command was vested in the Council of State itself, which appointed a

[201]P.R.O., S.P. 18/96, no. 57: 24 Apr. 1655; S.P. 25/76, p. 42: 24 Apr. 1655. Robinson, British Post Office, p. 45.

[202]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 237, 244: 16 Aug. 1655; S.P. 25/76A, pp. 94-8: 16 Aug. 1655.

[203]A.O., II, 1110-13; Robinson, British Post Office, p. 46.

[204]Robinson, British Post Office, pp. 49-50; Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 123-4, 210-11.

[205]12 Car. II, cap. 35; Robinson, British Post Office, pp. 48-9.

[206]W.N. Hammond, 'The Administration of the English Navy 1649-1660' (British Columbia Ph.D. thesis, 1974), p. 16.

committee for that purpose. Valentine Walton, governor of Lynn, sat on the Admiralty Committee from 1649,[207] and William Masham, Esq., of Essex was added at the end of 1651.[208] Sir William Masham of Essex was appointed in August 1652.[209] In December 1652, an Admiralty Commission was set up,[210] on which was included Maj. William Burton, alderman of Great Yarmouth, who had already been supervising naval affairs on the coast of the Eastern counties, and whose presence there was called for especially because of the naval operations off that coast during 1653. John Langley, a J.P. of Essex, was also an Admiralty Commissioner from December 1652. Col. Edward Salmon, whose regiment was stationed in the Eastern Counties during the Flanders campaign, was an Admiralty Commissioner during the time he was there.[211] Among the judges of the High Court of Admiralty in London was Charles George Cock, alderman of Norwich, who was appointed to the court in July 1653.[212] There were subordinate and often disputed admiralty jurisdictions vested in the borough corporations of Malden, Harwich, Ipswich, Aldeburgh, Southwold, Dunwich, Yarmouth and Lynn.[213] The vice-admiralties of the coastal counties were directly responsible to the Admiralty, and were required

[207]Hammond, 'English Navy', p. 547.

[208]Hammond, 'English Navy', p. 546.

[209]P.R.O., S.P. 25/31, p.74: 17 Aug 1652.

[210]Hammond, 'English Navy', p. 63.

[211]Hammond, 'English Navy', p. 547.

[212]Hammond, 'English Navy', p. 317.

[213]Malden: E.R.O., D/B3, 3/3/176; Harwich: L.T. Weaver, The Harwich Story (Harwich, 1975), pp. 43-4; Ipswich, Aldeburgh, Southwold, Dunwich: M. Oppenheim, 'Maritime History' in the Victoria County History of Suffolk, II (1907), 199-246; Great Yarmouth: N.N.R.O., C19/17, fol. 329; Lynn: N.N.R.O., KL/C7/11, fol. 47.

to supervise impressment and the discipline and care of seamen ashore and prisoners taken at sea. The vice-admirals of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex in 1649 were Edwyn Rich, Sir William Playters and the Earl of Warwick respectively.[214] Playters was succeeded by Sir Henry Mildmay in the latter half of 1649, but Mildmay resigned shortly afterwards and in January was replaced by William Heveningham.[215] In May 1652, on the outbreak of war with the Dutch, the Council issued special instructions to the vice-admirals of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, together with those of the south-eastern counties to impress seamen between the ages of fifteen and fifty, and to see that they be conducted to Deptford where they would be placed on board men-of-war.[216] In August of that year, the corporation officers of Lynn, Yarmouth, Ipswich and Harwich were ordered to impress stated numbers of men and requisition ships for the war effort.[217] In March 1653, the sheriffs and J.P.s of maritime counties were ordered to assist the county vice-admirals in the impressment of seamen for naval service.[218] During the Dutch War, the care of sick seamen and Dutch prisoners became a heavy burden on the borough corporations, and special commissioners were appointed to look after them. Commissioners were appointed to administer the sale of Dutch prizes, out of which the local naval expenses theoretically were to be

[214]P.R.O., S.P. 25/123, pp. 68, 70: 22 and 25 June 1650.

[215]P.R.O., S.P.25/123, p.214: 9 Jan. 1650; S.P. 25/20, p. 19: 9 June 1651; S.P. 25/66, pp. 220, 318, 330: 2 and 19 Jan., 3, 11 and 12 Feb. 1652.

[216]P.R.O., S.P. 25/67, pp. 129-30, 140: 24 and 25 May 1652.

[217]P.R.O., S.P. 25/31, p. 21: 4 Aug. 1652.

[218]P.R.O., S.P. 25/40, p. 65: 9 Mar. 1653.

paid, and they were assisted on the spot by local customs officials.[219] As for the counties, in September 1652, the Council ordered the Commissioners for Dutch Prizes to allow the sheriffs of the counties in which Dutch prisoners were kept, an allowance for each day that Dutch prisoners remained in their care.[220] After the Restoration, Sir John Bramston was appointed vice-admiral of Essex.[221]

Naval logistics were the responsibility of the Navy Commissioners, who had their offices at Tower Hill.[222] In the course of 1652, the Navy Commissioners were given control of the Ordnance Office, also situated in the Tower, the better to supply the fleet with guns and ordnance stores.[223] Nehemiah Bourne, one of the Navy Commissioners, was, on 12 June 1653, instructed to prepare ships for the fleet.[224] The chief naval victualling contractor in the Eastern Counties had moved his depot from Yarmouth to Harwich in April 1650,[225] and with Bourne's arrival, the town became a permanent naval base. In 1657, the navy bought a plot of land from the corporation for a naval yard, and two years later built a ballast wharf.[226] Yarmouth and Ipswich continued, nonetheless, to function alongside Harwich as naval bases for the supply

[219]Hammond, 'English Navy', pp. 230-6.

[220]P.R.O., S.P. 25/33, p. 5: 17 Sept. 1652.

[221]R.G. Marsden, 'The Vice-Admirals of the Coast', English Historical Review, XXII (1907), 468-77, and XXIII (1908), 736-57.

[222]Hammond, 'English Navy', p. 32.

[223]Tomlinson, Guns and Government, p. 9; Hammond, 'English Navy', pp. 271-3.

[224]Hammond, 'English Navy', pp. 31, 35; Chaplin, 'Nehemiah Bourne', Colonial Society of Massachusetts Transactions, XLII (1951/2), 28-55.

[225]P.R.O., S.P. 25/123, p. 286: 2 April 1650.

[226]Hammond, 'English Navy', pp. 36-7, 137.

of men and materials to the navy.[227] and together they were a tangible manifestation of the Council's direct concern for the protection of the coast of the Eastern Counties.

1.5.4 The fiscal structure

The fiscal agencies of central government posted officials within the region. Central taxation had been transformed by the Civil War. The revenues of the King's own, which had been the staple source of income for English rulers previously,[228] were supplemented by an array of new taxes imposed and collected with a novel vigour and thoroughness. The old, slow-moving Exchequer was superseded by ad hoc committees, each with their own officers and treasuries; and the sheriffs, who accounted to the Exchequer for the Crown's revenues in the counties, were eclipsed by the local representatives of the various committees set up in the counties by Parliament during the Civil War, among which were the committees for the sequestration of the estates of Royalists and Roman Catholics, functions of which were centralized in 1650,[229] and the committees for accounts, whose functions were centralized in 1649.[230]

[227]Hammond, 'English Navy', p. 137.

[228]F.W. Maitland, The Constitutional History of England (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 258-61.

[229]A.O., II, pp. 329-35; Aylmer, State's Servants, pp. 9-17; B.W. Quintrell, 'The Divisional Committee for Southern Essex during the Civil War and its part in Local Administration' (Manchester M.A. thesis, 1962), pp.21, 83-103.

[230]A.O., I, 387-9, 468-70, 717-22; II, 278, 765-7; Quintrell, 'Divisional Committee', p. 22.

After the establishment of the Commonwealth, the extraordinary revenues were gradually wound up and their yield declined to a small proportion of the total State revenues.[231] In 1654, by the Ordinance of that year, the Exchequer was restored to its previous role as the treasury not only for the revenues formerly belonging to the Crown, but for the 'foreign' revenues as well.[232] In practice, for some time to come, the customs and excise officials continued to administer separately the funds which they had collected, without paying them into the Exchequer, but by the late Protectorate, customs and excise accounts began to be declared retrospectively in the Upper Exchequer.[233] Even so, the assessment, the direct tax levied on each county at a given rate, was never fully accounted for in the Upper Exchequer, although summary declared accounts were made by the Treasurers-at-War, presumably for this purpose.[234]

The customs of the Commonwealth were managed by a central board of commissioners with a central treasury in London.[235] Their officers in the outports were generally prominent members of the borough corporations, such as John Vickers, collector at Colchester and Joshua Green at Lynn, both aldermen of their respective boroughs.[236] The customs officers, by virtue of their own local standing, were thus

[231]Aylmer, *State's Servants*, pp. 27-8.

[232]A.O., II, 1016-19; R.D. Richards, 'The Exchequer in Cromwellian times', *Economic history supplement to Economic Journal*, II (1931), 213-16.

[233]P.R.O., E. 351/649-60, 848, 852, 860, 1295-1301; E. 364/129.

[234]P.R.O., E. 351/ 304-5, 307-8.

[235]Aylmer, *State's Servants*, p. 25.

[236]P.R.O., E. 351/650-60.

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[233]P.R.O., E. 351/649-60, 848, 852, 860, 1295-1301; E. 364/129.

[234]P.R.O., E. 351/ 304-5, 307-8.

[235]Aylmer, State's Servants, p. 25.

[236]P.R.O., E. 351/650-60.

generally able to provide sureties for the revenues for which they were accountable. Of necessity, the central commissioners needed to allow their officers a certain degree of latitude in the execution of their duties, although informations could be brought against them by means of bills in the court of Exchequer.[237] For Norfolk and the Suffolk coast the two main outports were Lynn and Yarmouth. The former had members at Ely, Wisbech, Crosse Keys, Heatham and Burnham; while the latter had members at Norwich, Lowestoft, Southwold and Aldeburgh. The rest of Suffolk, together with Essex, was covered by the outports at Ipswich and Colchester: the former with members at Harwich and Manningtree, and the latter with members at Wivenhoe, Mersea Island and Malden. The revenues obtained from each port often varied considerably. The largest return was from Yarmouth, where it was generally over £2,000, and even rose to over £4,000 in the period from Michaelmas 1658 to Michaelmas 1659. The return from Lynn tended to be slightly less, with smaller amounts still from Ipswich and Colchester. On the whole, customs returns tended to rise over the period, and since largely the same officials remained in service during that time, the results seem to have repaid the trust which the government placed in them, since, as holders of fixed salaries, they had no direct interest in increasing the rate of return.[238] Apart from their responsibility for raising and paying out customs revenues, the customs officials also acted as agents for the government by keeping

[237]P.R.O., E. 148/7; E. 207/43-50.

[238]P.R.O., E.351/650-60; S.P. 18/19, no. 1d: 20 Feb. 1650; S.P. 18/126, no. 66: 15 April, 1656.

watch on suspicious persons, activities and goods. In November 1649, Thomas Bendish, the surveyor at Yarmouth, was ordered to seize some books from Holland;[239] while, during the Protectorate, Jonas Scott, collector at Wells, detained two persons who had come from Rotterdam.[240] They also enforced special Council orders, for example, embargoes on shipping, such as that of 1652[241] and another in September 1658.[242] At the outbreak of the war against the Dutch in 1652, the customs officers were instructed to compile lists of ships in their ports, so that they could be requisitioned for naval service.[243] They thus enabled the Council to keep a tight control over the coast of the region.

The excise, first levied under the Ordinance of Parliament of 23 March 1643, consisted of taxes on the sale of specified goods, and, like the customs, was administered by a central board of commissioners based in London.[244] During the Interregnum the Customs Commissioners alternated between farming out portions of the excise for specific areas, and collecting the money themselves through sub-commissioners. The sub-commissioners employed for the excise were stationed at a number of key points in each county: at Colchester, Malden, Braintree, Romford,

[239]P.R.O., S.P.25/63, p. 325: 29 Nov. 1649.

[240]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 35: 17 April 1656.

[241]P.R.O., S.P. 25/67, p. 169: 29 May 1652.

[242]P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, p. 5: 3 Sept. 1658.

[243]P.R.O., S.P. 25/97, pp. 207-8, 218, 228: 13, 17 and 23 March 1652.

[244]W.O. Scroggs, 'The Finances of the Long Parliament', Quarterly Journal of Economics, XX (1907), p. 481; Aylmer, State's Servants, p.25.

West Ham and Saffron Walden in Essex; Bury St Edmunds, Ipswich and Southwold in Suffolk; and Holt, Norwich and Lynn in Norfolk; so that Essex was divided into six areas and Norfolk and Suffolk into three each.[245] The farmers to whom sections of the excise were contracted out by the Excise Commissioners often had widespread interests in the areas of their farm, and frequently were in state service in other capacities as well. A bid for the excise in Norfolk and Norwich, Thetford and the hundred of Lothingland was made successfully in May by a locally-supported syndicate consisting of Thomas Morris and William Dodson, two gentlemen of Westminster, and was renewed the following year.[246] The excise for Norfolk was in the hands of William Life and Robert Doughty, also from that county.[247] In 1657, the farm for the excise in Essex was in the hands of Thomas Garrett and Richard Harvey, both from the Eastern Counties, who combined it with the farm for Suffolk.[248] In March 1655 Richard Lloyd and Samuel Wethered took over the farm in Essex.[249] In 1653, John Fenning, prominent in the local administration of Essex, and some others from that county failed to outbid the London syndicate of Bartholamew Helby, Richard Curtis and

[245]P.R.O., E. 351/1295-1301.

[246]P.R.O., S.P. 28/122B, fol. 5v: S.P. 18/35, no. 75: 8 Apr. 1653; E. 351/1296, membrane 14; E. 351/ 1297, membrane 10v.

[247]P.R.O., E. 351/1298, membrane 8. In August 1657, Doughty was referred to as holding the farm arising from ale and beer in Essex (S.P. 25/78, p. 777: 3 Aug. 1657); and in June 1659, Doughty, Life and Thomas Garrett were ordered by Parliament to pay £11,500 due for the farm of the excise of beer and ale for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex (C.J. 21 June 1659).

[248]P.R.O., E. 351/1298, membrane 8.

[249]P.R.O., E. 351/1299, membrane 9.

Richard Elkins, who had held the contract for the excise in that county since February 1652;[250] By putting the farm of the excise in the hands of those also involved in local administration, the government made it easier for money to be advanced for military purposes should it be needed, and also ensured that the men on the spot could call on the assistance of local administrators should they ever need to do so.

Thus the network of officials created by the new systems of taxation gave the government new methods of controlling the localities. Not only could money be advanced to its agents at short notice, but the fiscal officials themselves could assist the government in the enforcement of security, and keep it informed of local disturbances and conspiracies. They were a comprehensive supplement to the Council's own officers and agents - a nerve system which enabled the government to employ its military resources with telling effect.

1.5.5 Conclusion

Right up until 1659, the Council, as the supreme executive body in England after the execution of Charles I, had kept a tight reign on the country. It was only in the confusion of the events of 1659 that it lost its grip and so made the restoration of Charles II almost the only

[250]P.R.O., S.P. 18/35, no. 74: 8 Apr. 1653; E. 351/1296, membrane 12; E. 351/1297, membrane 10v; E. 351/1298, membrane 8.

possible outcome in 1660, whereas in 1658 it had been judged to be virtually impossible. The strength of the Council's hold on the country during the 1650's was due not least to the efficiency of its defence structure in each region. The Restoration regime was able to use the institutions and procedures which had been developed during the Interregnum and thus secure the government of the country for itself. Above all, it could rely upon the system of defence in the regions and at the centre which had come into being during, and in the aftermath of the Civil War.

2. THE STANDING ARMY

2.1 Introduction

Professors Michael Roberts and Geoffrey Parker have each drawn our attention to different aspects of the military revolution which took place in seventeenth-century Europe. Professor Roberts has described how field tactics were transformed by the use of small, well-drilled infantry units with massed heavy cavalry and light, mobile artillery - and this meant in turn that the training and the maintenance of arms and equipment placed a heavy and continuous burden on the early modern state. No longer could armies be raised from scratch whenever a government needed to wage war.[1] Professor Parker has supplemented and balanced this picture by arguing that the new style fortifications of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries played no less a role than did the change in field tactics, in increasing the scale of warfare to new dimensions; for the lengthy and extensive siege operations which they necessitated meant that any government intending to wage war needed now

[1] Michael Roberts, 'The Military Revolution, 1560-1660' in Essays in Swedish History (London, 1967), 195-225.

to supply its armies in the field with large quantities of advance supplies and provisions. The large number of contractors involved in maintaining the effort meant that a ready flow of money needed to be maintained from even before the commencement of operations right up to their conclusion.[2]

England was spared the huge military operations which traversed and devastated large areas of the Continent in the first half of the seventeenth century; but the brief and inconclusive war against the Scots of 1637-40 and then the Civil War brought full-scale military operations within its borders for the first time in almost a century and a half.[3] The continental innovations which had previously only been experimented with in England in an isolated and desultory fashion were all at once taken up in a serious way. Initially, neither side had available to it the immense resources which belonged to their Continental contemporaries; but over the course of the conflict, Parliament especially developed a war machine the match of any in Europe.[4] By 1649, the victorious Parliamentarians possessed a fully professional force, with a standardized system of pay and promotion.[5] London and other cities of the realm had been fortified, although many of these fortifications were subsequently demolished or slighted. The

[2] Geoffrey Parker 'The military revolution 1560-1660 - a myth?' Journal of Modern History, XLVII (1976), 195-314.

[3] Conrad Russell, Crisis of Parliaments (Oxford 1971), pp. 326-9.

[4] C.H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (1902, reprinted 1962).

[5] Reece, 'The military presence', chaps. II, III.

Ordnance Office and the Train of Artillery had each been put on an efficient basis capable of conducting large scale sieges.[6] Finally, the Navy was expanded and equipped on a huge scale in the war against the Dutch in 1652-4, and this was backed up by a complex and extensive logistical network[7]

In 1649, the New Model army was the most obvious military presence in the Eastern Counties, as in the rest of England. It was permanently embodied, and directly in the pay of the central government. This was both a strength and a weakness: a strength because it was ready for immediate action and would be deployed to put down any threat to the government quickly and with the minimum dependence on local co-operation; and a weakness in that the expenditure per man deployed was high and a heavy burden on government finances, and the lack of local control over the constitution and development of the forces gave force to the popular cry of 'No standing armies!' which could be directed against any regime, particularly one which overrode too blatantly local custom and interest.[8]

The Eastern Counties had provided the forces of the Eastern Association, which in turn formed the nucleus of the New Model in

[6] Firth Cromwell's Army, chaps. VI, VII.

[7] Hammond, 'English navy'.

[8] Lois Schwoerer, 'No Standing Armies! The antimilitary ideology in seventeenth century England (Baltimore, 1974), p. 55.

1645.[9] The fact that the counties had only been threatened but never actually invaded by Royalist armies made them a natural recruiting ground for Parliament's army. But with the subsumption of the army of the Eastern Association into the New Model, and the consequent atrophy of the Committee of the Eastern Association which had provided the local organization to maintain it, the close link between the localities and the central Parliamentary war effort was weakened.[10] The Committee continued to exist as a caretaker body until 1650 in order to pay off the supernumerary forces which had been disbanded.[11] From 1649, once the last supernumerary forces were disbanded and the pay and quartering put on a settled basis, the control which the local officials exercised over the machinery of the regular establishment was reduced to the purely negative power which their participation in the assessment commission gave them - that of withholding funds.

The fact that there was no direct organizational link between the Eastern Counties and the central army command did not mean that local authorities were no longer able to exert any influence over the organization of defence. The defence of the region was a carefully

[9] Clive Holmes, The Eastern Association in the English Civil War (Cambridge 1974), chap. X.

[10] Holmes, Eastern Association, chap. XI.

[11] £30,000 was entrusted to it under two Ordinances of Parliament passed on 22 February and 1 March 1648. £2,800 had been paid to the Committee from the excise by 30 April 1649, and the remaining arrears were transferred to the security of the Deans and Chapters' lands (P.R.O., S.P. 28/190, the accounts of Henry Broade).

synchronized system which depended on the regular forces being augmented or released at crucial points during times of emergency. During those times, the regular forces then fitted into a network of security and defence which the local officials, in the form of the militia commissioners, most of them also justices of the peace, and the army officers, notably garrison governors, co-ordinated between themselves. Thus, while within their own organization the regular forces were relatively independent of the localities in which they were deployed, they needed a high degree of co-operation with both borough and county officials in order to operate effectively.

2.2 Field Forces

2.2.1 Field units in the Eastern Counties after 1648

The siege of Colchester in June 1648 had concentrated a large body of regular units and county militia in Essex under the command of the Lord General Fairfax. The regular forces comprised substantial elements of four regiments of horse, the equivalent of a regiment of dragoons, and two and a half foot regiments: in all a total of about 1,840 horse and dragoons, and 1,520 foot. The militia forces which augmented them

numbered about six thousand men.[12] In accordance with Continental practice, lines of circum- and contra-vallation were built around the town, and operations continued until 25 August when the besieged sued for articles of surrender.[13] The militia forces returned home, but many of the regular units were kept in the area to ward off the threat presented especially by the Royalist ships off the coast.[14] By winter the danger had passed, and in December many of the forces which had taken part in the siege participated in the army's occupation of London which paved the way for the purge of Parliament and the subsequent trial and execution of the King.[15] After the installation of the new regime, the army itself was extensively re-organised, a new establishment was adopted in May, and many of the supernumerary forces were disbanded. Several regiments were chosen by lot to serve in Ireland under Lieutenant-General Cromwell, and this probably reduced the number of men under arms in England and Wales to just under thirty thousand. The strength of the army rose again to an estimated forty-five thousand at the time of Worcester, and was then reduced to some fifteen thousand until 1659, when it rose once again to around thirty thousand.[16] After the Restoration, the entire position of the army was reviewed, and under the Act of 13 September, all standing forces, with the exception

[12] B.P. Lyndon, 'The Parliament's Army in Essex 1648', Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, LXIX (1981), 145.

[13] Diary and Plan of the Siege of Colchester... (Colchester, 1661?)

[14] Lyndon, 'Parliament's Army', p. 230; Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 399.

[15] Gardiner, Great Civil War, IV, chap. LXVII.

[16] Reece, 'Military presence', pp. 9-13, appendix I.

of the garrisons, the household guards and the Lord General's regiment of foot were disbanded. The process was completed by December 1660.[17]

2.2.2 Horse units

Regular horse units were deployed in the region to cover the interior. They would be moved around in single troops, so enabling the government to secure the interior comprehensively with comparatively few men. Alternatively, they could be concentrated at short notice at any point in the region. On the other hand, horses provided much greater logistic problems than did foot, as the horses needed to be tended and fed; and this made it virtually impossible, in normal circumstances, to quarter an entire regiment of horse at one place.[18]

The regular units in the Eastern Counties in 1649 comprised three horse regiments which had taken part in the occupation of London: those of Edward Whalley, Charles Fleetwood and Nathaniel Rich. Whalley's regiment, which in October and November the previous year had been quartered in and around Bury St Edmunds,[19] was ordered to move to Essex in April 1649, and it obeyed this order despite a mutiny in one of its troops, that under the command of Captain Savage.[20] The regiment

[17] C.H. Firth and Godfrey Davies, The Regimental History of Cromwell's Army (Oxford, 1940), p. xxxiii.

[18] Reece, 'Military presence', pp. 94-100.

[19] P.R.O., S.P. 28/334, account of Jasper Shepherd.

[20] Firth and Davies, Regimental History, pp. 218-19.

accompanied the Lord General to Scotland in July 1650, and remained there until August 1651.[21] Fleetwood's regiment was also stationed somewhere in the Eastern Counties - probably in Norfolk and Suffolk, where it had been in the spring of 1648.[22] Fleetwood's regiment may well have been the regiment of horse allocated to the Eastern Counties in the spring of 1650.[23] In May the Council decided to send the regiment to Scotland[24] and the regiment left for Scotland in the summer of that year.[25] Rich's regiment was primarily deployed in and around Kent, but after Fleetwood's and Whally's regiments were sent to Scotland with Lord General Cromwell in the summer of 1650, its sphere of responsibility seems to have been broadened to include the Eastern Counties.[26]

Three troops of Rich's regiment were deployed in the area - probably Rich's own troop and that under Captain Merriman.[27] In November, one of Rich's troopers was condemned to death for killing one of his fellows in Norfolk.[28] All three troops were used to disperse the Royalist

[21] B.L., Harleian MS 6844, fol. 124; Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 96.

[22] Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 95.

[23] P.R.O., S.P.25/64 pp. 56, 132: 2 and 29 March 1650.

[24] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 383: 24 May 1650.

[25] B.L., Harleian MS 6844, fol. 124; Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 98.

[26] Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 147; P.R.O., E101/67/11B, membrane 60.

[27] Lieut. John Hawkridge, of Merriman's troop, bought land in West Ham, Essex, in July 1650 (I. Gentles, 'The Debentures Market and Military Purchases of Crown Land', London Ph.D. thesis, 1969), appendix III.

[28] Mercurius Politicus, no.23, p. 384: 11 Nov. 1650.

insurrection near Norwich at the end of November that year.[29] The regiment was appointed to provide a guard for the High Court of Justice, which Parliament had appointed to try the conspirators, and was ordered to escort the judges from Newmarket to Norwich, where the court was to sit.[30] In February, upon intelligence of a possible Scottish invasion, the Council appointed Rich to the command of a force of fifteen hundred horse and dragoon auxiliaries.[31] Commissions to raise the latter from various counties in the north and west were issued the next month and at the same time Rich was ordered to leave for Lancashire.[32] With the departure of Rich's regiment from the area in March, the Eastern Counties were left without any regular horse until after the battle of Worcester.

During 1651, the Eastern Counties served as an important recruiting ground for a semi-regular body of horse and dragoons. In March, Parliament instructed that Major-General Harrison be sent to the North-West with a specially-raised body of horse and dragoons.[33] Rather than add permanently to the regular establishment, the Council decided in April to make up a force of volunteers drawn from the county militia,

[29] C.J., VI, 504; Mercurius Politicus, no. 26, p. 435: 3 Dec. 1650; Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, p. 33.

[30] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 83: 12 Dec. 1650; S.P. 25/15, p. 9: 14 Dec. 1650.

[31] P.R.O., S.P. 25/17, p. 32: 4 Feb. 1650.

[32] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 54, 77, 80: 3 and 8 Mar. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 28: 8 Mar. 1651; E. 101/67/11B, fols. 70v-71.

[33] C.J., VI, 549-50; Mercurius Politicus, no. 41, p. 670: 19 March 1651; P.R.O., S.P. 25/61 pp. 289-91: 19 April 1651.

who would be taken onto the establishment for a period of six months from 1 May 1651 and then disbanded.[34] The force was composed of three regiments: two of horse and one of dragoons, each with a strength of one thousand officers and men.[35] The first regiment of horse, raised for the safety of the Eastern Association and inland parts, was put under the command of Col. Robert Jermy, colonel of the Norfolk regiment of horse, and amongst his troop commanders were four officers from the Suffolk militia: Col. Humphrey Brewster, commander of the Suffolk foot regiment, John Moody, major of the Suffolk regiment of horse, and Capts. Robert Sparrow and Richard Moyse of the latter regiment.[36] The second regiment of horse which was raised for the defence of London and Kent included Robert Beard, lieutenant-colonel of Colonel Matthew's militia regiment in Essex.[37] The force was to be raised and armed under the Militia Act, and it was the responsibility of the militia commissioners to see that they reported in full strength and properly armed, to the rendezvous, from which time they would become the responsibility of the

[34] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 229, 231, 237-8, 241, 264: 7, 8 and 15 April 1651; S.P. 25/96, pp. 113, 123: 8 and 15 April 1651. It was to be paid from a special sum of £20,000 allocated from the receipts of the Commissioners for Compounding at Goldsmith's Hall, supplemented by part of the £10,000 from the Commissioners for the Advance of Money at Goldsmith's Hall (C.J., VI, 554-7).

[35] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 294, 312: 21 and 22 April 1651. S.P. 25/119, p. 178: 21 April 1651; S.P. 25/19, p. 100: 5 May 1651.

[36] P.R.O. S.P. 25/65, p. 295: 21 Apr. 1651; S.P. 25/119, pp. 176-7: 21 Apr. 1651; E. 101/67/11B, membranes 74v-76v.

[37] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 295-6: 21 Apr. 1651; S.P. 25/119, pp. 174-5: 21 Apr. 1651; E.101/67/11B, mambrane 73.

Army Committee.[38] Not all those allocated to the counties appeared, but on 10 May the Council ordered that they make up their numbers.[39] The Council allocated a quota to each county militia for the number of horses they were to provide for the two thousand horse and one thousand dragoons. The Essex militia together with a number of the militia of London and the surrounding counties were required to send horses to the army commissaries in London or, by default, compounded at £9 a horse.[40] Major-General Harrison's brigade left for the north,[41] although some troops, including those under Colonel Brewster and Major Moody, were put under the command of Colonel Rich in order to guard the Midland parts.[42] The forces served under Major-General Harrison's command and played an important role in the campaign and battle of Worcester.[43] The horse were disbanded in September with fourteen days' pay over and above that assigned for their period of service, and their horses and arms were returned to their owners in the counties.[44]

Rich's regiment probably took part in the battle of Worcester, but it

[38] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, p. 298: 21 Apr. 1651; S.P. 25/19, pp. 93-4, 116, 142: 3, 9 and 17 May 1651; S.P. 25/96, pp. 406, 140: 14, 15 and 25 Apr. 12 May 1651

[39] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 170: 10 May 1651.

[40] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 135, 177, 216, 363: 21 Apr., 12 May, 3 June, 16 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/19 p. 125: 12 May 1; S.P. 25/20, p. 4: 2 June 1651; p. 216: 3 June 1651.

[41] Nicholls (ed.) Original Letters, p. 71.

[42] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 184: 16 May 1651.

[43] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, II, 29, 31-2, 35-6; Mercurius Politicus, no. 66, p. 1053: 4-11 Sept. 1651.

[44] C.J., VII, 15; P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 521, 549: 13 and 22 Sept. 1651; S.P. 25/22, pp. 69, 559: 22 and 30 Sept. 1650; S.P. 25/23, pp. 12, 35: 2 and 14 Oct. 1651.

returned afterwards to the Eastern Counties. In October, the Army Committee issued fourteen days' pay to disband forty men out of four troops of Colonel Rich's regiment stationed in or about Essex.[45] The regiment probably remained in and around Essex[46] until, in October 1653, it arrived in Scotland to help put down the Glencairn uprising.[47] Whalley's regiment took part in the battle of Worcester in the division under the command of Harrison and Lambert.[48] Thereafter it was stationed in the Eastern Counties. The supernumeraries of the regiment were paid off and disbanded in October.[49] One of its troops, that under Captain Sabberton, was at Stistead in Essex in 1652.[50] Another of its troops was stationed between the Isle of Ely and Cambridge in the spring of 1653.[51] The regiment left for Scotland during the winter of 1653-4.[52] After the departure of Whalley's regiment the region was left with Fleetwood's regiment, which had also served at the battle of Worcester, and had then returned to its quarters in the Eastern Counties.[53]

[45] P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 56: 23 Oct. 1651; E. 101/67/11B, membranes 122v-123.

[46] In April 1652, Ralph Josselin preached to a large body of soldiers, probably from Rich's regiment, at Halstead (Macfarlane, Diary of Ralph Josselin, p. 226).

[47] C.H. Firth, 'Scotland under the Commonwealth', Society of Scottish History XXVIII, (Edinburgh 1895), p. 238. Their last payment was a warrant dated 20 September 1653 (P.R.O., A.O. 1/47/5)

[48] Mercurius Politicus, no. 66, p. 1054: 4-11 Sept. 1651.

[49] E. 101/67/11B, membrane 64v.

[50] P.R.O., S.P. 18/99, no 99: 31 July 1655.

[51] P.R.O., S.P. 25/69, pp. 10, 319, 436-8: 2 May, 16, 28 June 1653.

[52] Firth, 'Scotland under the Commonwealth', p.305, n. 1.

[53] Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 96; P.R.O., A.O. 1/47/5, payment of Fleetwood's regiment up to 4 Sept. 1655.

By the beginning of 1655, when Royalist plans for a general rising in all parts of England were coming to fruition, Fleetwood's regiment of horse, under the command of Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, was the only mounted force in the Eastern Counties.[54] Haynes deployed his forces to protect the justices of assize from being seized by Royalist insurgents as their colleagues on the western circuit had been. A troop was sent to Bury to escort the judges to Shelford, and another escorted them from there to Norwich.[55] In September, the Council decided that Fleetwood's regiment should be sent up to Scotland, and it ordered the Army Committee to advance a month's pay accordingly.[56] The regiment did not return to the Eastern Counties,[57] although Haynes himself remained in the area.[58]

By late 1655, Whalley's regiment was moved south again.[59] In late 1655 three of his troops were now stationed in the Eastern Counties: those of Major Swallow and Downham near Lynn, Captain Evanson's at

[54] Two of the regiment troops were in fact in Kent

[55] T.S.P., III, 247, 153, 284-5, 292-3. In their absence, the town was guarded by a county militia troop under the command of Maj. Dudley Templer (T.S.P., III, 247-8).

[56] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 270, 287: 5 and 14 Sept. 1655; Firth, 'Scotland under the Protectorate' Scottish History Society, XXXI (Edinburgh, 1899), 305.

[57] The regiment was in Scotland for the next two years (Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 98), and on its return to England it was assigned to guard London (P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, pp. 497, 715: 11 March and 24 June, 1658)

[58] Nuttall, 'Hezekiah Haynes', 201-6.

[59] In the spring of 1655, four of its troops were quartered at York and the other two somewhere near the border (Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 228).

Beckley near Yarmouth, and Captain Chamberlain's at Chelmsford. These were supplemented by two troops of Colonel Twistleton's regiment: Captain Byfield's at Ipswich and Captain Deane's at Norwich.[60] Nothing further is known about the deployment of horse in the Eastern Counties for the remainder of the Protectorate. After that, during the crisis of August 1659, there was a troop of regular horse stationed at Ipswich.[61] In February 1660 Rich's regiment of horse was sent down from London to the Eastern Counties for fear that it might offer resistance to Lord General Monck's entry into London. The troops were dispersed among the various centres: one each to Colchester, Ipswich, Bury St Edmunds, Yarmouth, and two to Norwich. On 25 February, Rich called a rendezvous of his regiment at Bury. The Lord General commissioned Richard Ingoldsby to replace Rich, and, with the assistance of the Lord General's lifeguard under Philip Howard, Ingoldsby persuaded Rich and his regiment to submit to his command.[62] After a purge of the officers, the regiment helped to put down Lambert's attempted rising at the end of April, and was later disbanded.[63]

[60] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A 27, fol. 753.

[61] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 141: 9 August 1659.

[62] H.M.C., Leybourne-Popham, pp. 157-8, 162-6, 168-9; Firth and Davies, Regimental History, pp. 157-8.

[63] Firth and Davies, Regimental History, pp. 158-61.

2.2.3 Foot units

Field units of foot served a dual purpose in the Eastern Counties. The Counties were a useful point of embarkation for the campaign in Scotland from 1650 to 1654, and then for the campaign in Flanders from 1656 to 1659. At the same time, foot units would be used to serve the Eastern Counties themselves, and as they were moved out, the Council made sure either to replace them with other units or new recruits, or alternatively, to secure the region with militia forces. They could be concentrated far more easily than horse units, but were less mobile, and therefore of less use for internal security purposes.

Apart from the garrisons, there were no foot units stationed as such in the Eastern Counties just after Pride's Purge apart from Colonel Hewson's regiment of foot which, in early 1649, was listed as being stationed in Suffolk, but, at the end of April 1649, marched to Whitehall to await embarkation to Ireland.[64] Thus the region was spared most of the disturbances which arose from the despatch of soldiers for that service. The Eastern Counties were, however, the natural point of embarkation for Scotland, and the despatch of an English army there in the middle of 1650 brought the region into the system of recruitment for the Scottish campaign. Units were stationed in the region either to await orders to march north or to send soldiers to recruit the strength

[64] Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 408.

of units already in Scotland.

Foot soldiers were quartered in Colchester during 1649 and 1650.[65] and in Brentwood about the same time.[66] Five companies of one hundred soldiers each of the newly raised foot regiment under Edward Sexby were sent to Yarmouth, Lothingland and Flegg in July 1650, to guard Lothingland.[67] At the end of September 1650, the Council ordered Sexby's regiment to march to Scotland but it was delayed while it was re- equipped for the service.[68] Given these preparations, it is unlikely that Sexby's regiment left for Scotland much before December, when it arrived at Carlisle.[69]

In September, the Committee for Martial Affairs recommended that Sexby's regiment be replaced by Colonel Berkstead's regiment, now augmented to two thousand men.[70] It is not clear whether any of Berkstead's soldiers moved to the area immediately, but, before this, five hundred of Berkstead's regiment had been ordered to Scotland.[71] The idea was that the soldiers should remain on the strength of

[65] B.L., Stowe MS 842, fols. 18, 19v.

[66] E.R.O., Q/SBa 2/75.

[67] P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, pp. 5, 14, 22: 22, 25 and 29 July 1650.

[68] P.R.O., S.P. 25/10, pp 10, 44, 65: 17, 23 and 30 Sept, 1650; S.P. 25/11 p. 3: 4 Oct. 1650; S.P. 25/12 p. 12: 31 Oct. 1650; S.P. 25/13 p. 19: 27 Nov. 1650; S.P. 25/100, pp. 147, 160: 3 and 18 Oct. 1650; S.P. 25/101, p. 4: 27 Nov. 1650; S.P. 18/14, nos. 80 and 121: 31 Oct. and 27 Nov. 1650.

[69] Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 561.

[70] P.R.O. S.P 25/10 p. 44: 23 Sept. 1650.

[71] P.R.O. S.P. 25/10, p. 9: 13 Sept. 1651; S.P. 25/ 100, p. 130: 13 Sept. 1651; S.P. 18/ 14 no. 31: 13 Sept. 1651; E. 101/67/11B membrane 13.

Berkstead's regiment for a month while they were on the march up to Scotland, and then be transferred to the strength of the regiment there to which they would be recruited.[72]

The Council intended originally that four hundred men from Walton's regiment be sent as reinforcements to Scotland,[73] but on 26 October it was decided that two hundred of this number should come out of Berkstead's regiment instead.[74] The bailiffs of Yarmouth were instructed to help Lieutenant- Colonel Cobbett, Berkstead's second-in-command, to ship the soldiers to Scotland.[75] At the end of November, it ordered the Ordnance Officers to issue Berkstead's regiment with 150 pikes and 350 muskets; and Walton's with 50 pikes and 150 muskets to replace arms taken by the soldiers up to Scotland.[76]

Thus by December 1650, Berkstead had already sent five hundred soldiers of his regiment to Scotland, and a further five hundred had

[72] P.R.O., S.P. 25/10, p. 9: 14 Sept. 1650. At the end of September, the Ordnance Officers were ordered to issue Berkstead with 450 snapshance muskets and 40 pikes to replace the arms which the 500 had taken with them to Scotland. (P.R.O., S.P. 25/60, p. 66: 30 Sept. 1650)

[73] In May, the Ordnance Officers had delivered 4 drums, 4 halberds, 200 pikes and 200 collars of bandoliers to Lieutenant Walker, one of Walton's officers (B.L., Addit. MS 35332, fol. 168v).

[74] P.R.O., S.P. 25/12 p. 6: 26 Oct. 1650. Warrants were issued to Colonel Berkstead in order to march a total of five hundred men to Scotland, together with three hundred from Colonel Ingoldsby's, and two hundred each from Colonel Gibbons's and Colonel Walton's regiments, for whom proportionate arms were ordered (S.P. 25/12 p. 43; S.P. 25/ 100, p. 185: both 5 Nov. 1650).

[75] P.R.O., S.P. 25/12 p.57: 7 Nov. 1650

[76] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14 p. 13: 30 Nov. 1650.

been allocated from his regiment for that service, although it is not clear whether or not they had been despatched. In May 1650, the Council of State had ordered that Berkstead's regiment should be augmented to two thousand men (ten companies of two hundred each).[77] This left one thousand as its nominal strength for service in England. A good proportion of Berkstead's regiment was kept constantly stationed in London until 1653.[78] It seems unlikely that many of the remaining companies of Berkstead's regiment would have been assigned to Yarmouth and Lothingland, although some of the London-based companies may well have been sent out during the Norfolk insurrection. In early December, the Council ordered that Berkstead's regiment be augmented to two thousand again and that five hundred of Berkstead's regiment 'when recruited' should be sent to Lothingland, Yarmouth and Lowestoft.[79] These were presumably to replace the five hundred which had been sent up to Scotland in September, and while they were being recruited, the second five hundred of Berkstead's forces, allocated for Scotland, were probably used to guard Yarmouth and Lothingland in the time between the arrival of the new companies and the departure of Sexby's regiment to Scotland.[80] At the end of 1650 five hundred soldiers from Berkstead's

[77] P.R.O. S.P. 25/64, p. 334: 11 May 1650.

[78] Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 340.

[79] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 49: 7 Dec. 1650.

[80] It may have been partly to reinforce these companies force that the Council requested soldiers from the militia of Norfolk, Suffolk and Yarmouth in mid-December. (P.R.O., S.P. 25/15, p. 14: 16 Dec. 1650).

regiment[81] and two hundred from Walton's[82] were shipped to Scotland.

In late January 1651, the Council issued instructions for a new body of one thousand, five hundred recruits to be sent to Scotland of which six hundred were to come from from Berkstead's and three hundred from Walton's.[83] The Committee for Irish and Scottish Affairs recommended that the soldiers be issued with arms, and empowered Lieutenant - Colonel Cobbett of Berkstead's regiment to make the necessary arrangements for their shipment to Scotland.[84] Over the next two months, just over a thousand soldiers were shipped from Yarmouth to Leith.[85] The quota from Walton's regiment was made up piecemeal over the course of that spring and summer.[86] In April, the Council ordered that a further body of recruits be sent to Scotland, four hundred of whom were to come from Berkstead's regiment.[87] The number from Berkstead's regiment was subsequently raised to six hundred, and they were probably shipped in the early summer.[88]

[81] P.R.O., S.P. 25/15, p. 42: 23 Dec. 1650. S.P. 25/101, p. 309: 6 Jan. 1651; S.P. 18/19 no. 2: 6 Jan. 1651; E. 101/67/11b, membrane 13.

[82] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 14: 17 Jan. 1651.

[83] P.R.O., S.P. 25/ 17, pp. 9-10: 11 Feb. 1651; E. 101/67/11B, membranes 13-13v.

[84] P.R.O. 25/17, pp.47, 49-50: 8 Feb. 1650.

[85] P.R.O., S.P. 18/19, no. 150: 27 Mar. 1651; S.P. 25/65, p. 177: 27 Mar. 1651; S.P. 25/101, p. 181: 27 March 1651.

[86] P.R.O., S.P. 25/101, p. 236: 2 May 1651; S.P. 25/102, p. 112: 25 July 1651; S.P. 18/ 21, nos. 66, 73 and 105: 25 and 30 July and 4 Aug. 1651; S.P. 18/22, no. 3: 1 Sept. 1651.

[87] P.R.O., S.P. 25/10, p.322: 24 April 1651; S.P. 25/ 101, p. 254: 8 May 1651; S.P. 18/20, no. 89: 8 May 1651; E. 101/67/11B, membrane 137v.

[88] P.R.O., S.P. 18/21, no. 12: 7 June 1651; S.P. 25/102, p. 11: 7 June 1651; E. 101/67/11B, membrane 137v.

At the end of July 1651, the Scots invaded England, and the Council was forced to find some additional protection against this new threat. By an order of Parliament of 1 August it obtained the power to take an additional number of up to four thousand foot onto the establishment for a period of three months.[89] On 1 August, the Council instructed Colonel Walton to raise a force of one thousand men under this arrangement. Walton was to use five of his companies of one hundred men each, drawn from the garrisons under his command, as the nucleus of the force. To these he was to add five companies drawn from the militias of Norfolk, Suffolk and the Isle of Ely with militia arms; and five further companies from those militias were to replace the companies drawn from the garrisons. The marching force was placed under the command of Major Blake, Walton's deputy at Yarmouth, to await instructions from the Council; and was to come under the overall command of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, the commander of Parliament's forces round London.[90] The Council initially ordered Walton to send his force to Stamford to join the brigade under Major-General Harrison, which was marching south from Berwick, but on 13 August, it rescinded this order on the grounds that it would take them too long to reach Harrison, from whom they had last heard at Ripon; and, further, that the advance of the Scottish army made the protection of London ever more imperative.[91] It had appointed a rendezvous of a force of eight thousand foot and two thousand horse to

[89] C.J., VI, 614: Nicholls (ed.), *Original Letters*, pp. 78-9.

[90] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 319, 414: 1 and 23 Aug. 1651.

[91] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 331, 351: 7 and 13 Aug. 1651.

take place at Barnet on 19 August, and Blake's force was allocated to this body.[92] Before Blake's force reached Barnet, it was redirected first to Northampton,[93] and then to Buckingham, to keep pace with the Scots invaders.[94] Blake's regiment then took part in the battle of Worcester, in the division under Fleetwood's command.[95]

At the beginning of August, the Council of State ordered Colonel Berkstead to prepare five companies of two hundred men each for shipment to Scotland, and the soldiers were embarked.[96] With the news of the Scots' invasion, the arrangements were changed. The Council ordered the one thousand men who had been embarked for Scotland from Berkstead's regiment to march northward instead, and that wagons be provided for them.[97] A week later the Council decided to combine the five companies under Cobbett's command to form a single regiment, and to include the new regiment in the force of eight thousand foot and two thousand horse which would be drawn together to defend London.[98] The Council later decided that Cobbett's thousand men should be included in the force of four thousand foot for which Parliament had made provision on 1 August.[99]

[92] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 349: 13 Aug. 1651.

[93] P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 49: 19 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 374: 19 Aug. 1651.

[94] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 407, 413: 23 Aug. 1651.

[95] Mercurius Politicus, no. 66, p. 1052: 4-11 Sept. 1651.

[96] P.R.O., S.P. 18/21, no. 78, 79, 89: 5 and 12 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 326: 5 Aug. 1651.

[97] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 332, 334: 7 and 11 Aug. 1651.

[98] P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, pp. 23-4: 32, 13 and 15 Aug. 1651.

[99] P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, pp. 29-30: 14 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 414: 23 Aug. 1651.

Colonel Gibbons's regiment of foot was also stationed in Essex during this time.[100] It had been ordered initially to march northwards,[101] but was subsequently ordered to join the eight thousand foot and two thousand horse round London.[102] On 14 August Parliament ordered that it be mounted on horses commandeered by the militia commissioners of London and the surrounding parts, and that it be sent to join Major-General Harrison's force.[103] Both Cobbett's and Gibbons's regiments marched to join Fleetwood's brigade,[104] and both regiments served in Fleetwood's division at the battle of Worcester.[105]

After Worcester, neither Cobbett's regiment nor the special force under Major Blake continued in service in the Eastern Counties. Both were probably among the four regiments which the Council referred to as being appointed to be transported to Scotland.[106] Under the new establishment for the army in England and Scotland which was presented to the House on 2 October 1651, ten companies of Colonel Cobbett's regiment were to be retained. Only three of Blake's companies were to be

[100]E.R.O. Q/S Ba 2/78.

[101]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 330: 9 Aug. 1651.

[102]P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 24: 13 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 353: 13 Aug. 1651.

[103]C.J., VI, p. 622; P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 32: 15 Aug 1651; S.P. 25/96, pp. 358, 363: 15 and 16 Aug. 1651.

[104]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 385: 20 Aug. 1650.

[105]Mercurius Politicus, no. 66, pp. 1052-3: 4-11 Sept. 1651.

[106]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 509: 8 Sept. 1651. The others were Colonel Duckenfield's Cheshire regiment and a volunteer regiment from London under Major Puckle. (S.P. 25/96, p. 414: 23 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/21, p. 82: 27 Aug. 1651.)

kept on and the rest were to be disbanded.[107] Colonel Cobbett's regiment was prepared for transportation to Scotland. Ten colours were provided for the regiment at the beginning of October,[108] and during that month four and a half companies of the regiment arrived in Scotland.[109] A further company under Captain Robson was prevented from sailing from Yarmouth in early December, and was ordered instead to march there.[110] By the beginning of January, Cobbett's regiment had mustered in Scotland at full strength.[111]

Three companies of Blake's special regiment were disbanded with fourteen days' pay in the latter half of October,[112] but it is not clear what happened to the other four which were scheduled for disbanding under the establishment of 2 October. Recruits from the regiment were conducted to Scotland by one of Walton's officers, Capt. Robert Sherwood, in November.[113] In December, a further three hundred men were sent by ship up to Scotland under the command of two other officers, formerly of Walton's regiment, Captains Shipdam and

[107]P.R.O., S.P.25/21, p. 78: 26 Sept. 1651; C.J., VII, 20, 24; Firth and Davies, *Regimental History*, pp. 358, 446, 483.

[108]P.R.O., S.P. 18/22, no. 28: 2 Oct. 1652.

[109]P.R.O., E. 101/67/11B, membrane 143; Firth, 'Scotland under the Commonwealth', p. 336.

[110]P.R.O., S.P. 25/97, pp. 21-2: 12 Dec. 1651.

[111]Firth, 'Scotland under the Commonwealth', p. 25. The regiment had men from the Eastern Counties on its strength. At the Michaelmas quarter sessions in 1652, Susan Stringer, the widow of Griffen Stringer, a soldier 'slayne in the Parl[iament]'s service in Scotland in the Regim[en]t of Coll[onel] Cobbett', was given a county pension (Allen (ed.), *Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book*, p. 14).

[112]P.R.O., S.P. 25/23, p. 59: 25 Oct. 1651.

[113]P.R.O., S.P. 18/22, no. 70: 12 Nov. 1651.

Scrope.[114]

During the later years of the Protectorate the Eastern Counties once more served as a base for foreign operations. By the treaty signed on 13 March 1657, England and France had agreed jointly to mount a campaign by land and sea against a number of fortresses in Flanders held by Spain. For this purpose, England was required to supply six thousand foot, half of whom were to be musketeers.[115] Companies of foot were moved to a number of centres in the Eastern Counties during the spring of 1659. It was reported in March that the Lord Protector had sent five hundred soldiers to Yarmouth and eight hundred to Norwich, and others to 'most of the port towns' in Norfolk and Suffolk.[116] These soldiers may have belonged to Colonel Salmon's regiment, which General Monck, commander of the army in Scotland, had ordered to march south in the late summer of 1656.[117] In the spring, a number of soldiers were drafted from specified regiments to make up the number of the six thousand soldiers for the expedition.[118] Of these, one hundred came from Salmon's regiment, and sixty-seven of them were shipped from Harwich in May.[119] By September 1657, the English contingent in Flanders had been reduced

[114]P.R.O., S.P. 18/31, nos. 10 and 11: 7 Jan. 1652; S.P. 25/66, pp. 153, 189: 7 Jan. 1652.

[115]C.H. Firth, The Last Years of the Protectorate (1909), I, 270; T.S.P., IV, 115-16.

[116]Bodleian, Clarendon MS 54: 16 Mar. 1657.

[117]Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 532; T.S.P., V, 323; VI, 81; P.R.O., A.O. 1/47/5, (for the pay of the regiment while in Scotland).

[118]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, pp. 822-3: 27 Apr. and 14 May 1657.

[119]P.R.O., S.P. 18/156, no. 18: 25 May 1657.

heavily through losses on campaign, and the Lord Protector agreed to send over two thousand recruits to fill up their numbers.[120] On 28 September, one hundred and twenty soldiers of Salmon's regiment were assigned to the service in Flanders, and this left some six hundred soldiers on the regimental establishment in England.[121]

At the end of September, Marshal Turenne, commander of the Anglo-French forces in Flanders, captured the fort of Mardike, and, by agreement, handed it over to the English. Part of the English contingent was allotted to garrison the fort over the winter, while the remainder of the contingent was quartered with the French army on the border of Artois. Mardike was attacked by the Spaniards on 22 October, and it was therefore deemed necessary to reinforce it.[122] Five thousand pairs of shoes were sent to the fort at Mardike in October.[123] Two regiments were ordered to stand ready for embarkation should reinforcements be required at short notice at Mardike. Both were quartered near the coast: one at Dover and the other at Yarmouth.[124] Six companies of Salmon's regiment were quartered in the Eastern Counties at Colchester, Ipswich,

[120]C.H. Firth, 'Royalist and Cromwellian Armies in Flanders 1657- 1662', *Transactions of the Royalist Historical Society*, new series, XVII (1903), 82; *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 382, p. 1648: 17-24 Sept. 1657.

[121]P.R.O., S.P. 28/115, fol. 98, warrant: 3 Mar. 1658.

[122]Firth, 'Armies in Flanders', pp. 82-3.

[123]B.L., Addit. MS 46910, fol. 90.

[124]T.S.P., VI, 614. The regiment 'at Yarmouth' may either have been Biscoe's, which was at Yarmouth proper, or more likely that of Colonel Salmon.

Norwich and Lynn, in readiness for embarkation to Mardike.[125] Salmon's companies were not embarked immediately.[126] In November 1657, however, it was reported that most of Colonel Salmon's and part of Colonel Biscoe's regiments were leaving for Mardike.[127] On the twenty-third of that month, the soldiers on board the Adventure frigate mutinied and forced it to return to Harwich. The officer in command of the soldiers, Maj. William Walters,[128] brought other soldiers to the dockside in order to persuade the recalcitrant soldiers to comply with the Council's orders. However, three days later, the soldiers were still preventing the ship from being victualled, and thus prevented it from sailing.[129] Another contingent of two hundred men of Colonel Salmon's regiment, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pepper, was ordered to be shipped to Mardike from Harwich in December, but this contingent did not, in fact, set sail, but returned to their quarters.[130] Soldiers from Fleetwood's regiment, formerly Lambert's, were quartered at Yarmouth during the winter but moved to London in January.[131] Sick soldiers from Mardike were brought back to Harwich during that winter. One hundred and twenty five were cared for there by Robert Seaman, the naval

[125]P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, p. 815: 28 Aug. 1658; P.R.O. 31/17/33, p. 91: 14 Oct. 1658; N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 B 23, fols. 58, 72.

[126]Firth, 'Armies in Flanders', p. 84; Firth, Last Years, pp. 298, 695, 717, 735, 743; T.S.P., VI, 695-6.

[127]C.H. Firth (ed.), The Clarke Papers, Camden Society, new series, XLIV, LIV, LXI, LXII (London, 1891-1901), III, 217.

[128]For Walters, called 'Waters' here, see Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 533.

[129]P.R.O., S.P. 18/157, no. 149: 26 Nov. 1657.

[130]Bodleian, Rawlinson A56, fol. 371; P.R.O., S.P. 18/158, no. 99: 31 Dec. 1657; S.P. 25/78, p. 380: 31 Dec. 1657; S.P. 28/115, fol. 50.

[131]P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, p. 413: 10 Jan. 1658.

surgeon based at the port, with the assistance of the mayor and corporation.[132]

The offensive alliance between England and France was renewed on 28 March 1658, and a new treaty was drawn up under which England was to send three to four thousand men to bring the English contingent up to its original strength.[133] Salmon's regiment was accordingly brought up to strength for service in Flanders.[134] The two companies of Salmon's regiment quartered in Norwich recruited additional men in March that year, and in April borrowed money from the corporation to transport them to Flanders.[135] The forces in Flanders in the summer of 1658 included a composite regiment under Lieutenant-Colonel Pepper, five companies of which were taken from Salmon's regiment.[136] After the battle of the Dunes on 14 June, these were joined by the remainder of Salmon's regiment.[137] Five companies of Salmon's regiment left Yarmouth in the latter half of May.[138] The regiment together with that under Colonel

[132]P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, pp. 291, 431, 484-5, 513, 548, 638: 24 Nov. 1657, 11 Feb., 9 Mar., 6 Apr., 25 May 1658; S.P. 25/106, p. 63: 6 Apr. 1658.

[133]Firth, 'Armies in Flanders', p. 84; T.S.P., VI, 804, 853; VII, 115-16, 127.

[134]The last recorded muster for Salmon's regiment in the spring of 1658 was on 26 April, with a strength of 699 soldiers for Salmon's regiment together with 73 for Capt. Benjamin Gifford's company, now with Salmon's regiment (P.R.O., S.P. 28/116, fol. 173).

[135]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fols. 74v, 76. Pepper had been assigned £154.10s. by a warrant of the Army Committee of 30 March, and it was possibly as an advance on this warrant that the loan was made. (S.P. 28/115, fol. 325).

[136]Firth, 'Armies in Flanders', pp. 84-5.

[137]'Clarke Papers', III, 158; T.S.P., VII, 115-16.

[138]P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, p. 630: 20 May 1658.

Gibbon was used to form the garrison for Dunkirk.[139] The two regiments suffered badly from disease, and in the autumn of 1658, the Council resolved to comply with a request from the companies of Salmon's and Gibbon's regiments to return to England on the grounds that Lieutenant-General Fleetwood had promised that they would be allowed to return to quarters in England for the winter.[140] A month later, however, the two regiments were still at Mardike.[141] Some time in the middle of 1658, the equivalent of two companies of Colonel Biscoe's regiment were sent across to Flanders,[142] but their purpose was to augment the existing garrison rather than to relieve any of the units there.

In mid-December 1658, the Council approved recommendations from the Committee for Mardike that Salmon's regiment be reduced to seven hundred and fifty soldiers and brought back to England. The Admiralty Commissioners were instructed to prepare vessels for five hundred soldiers, among whom were one hundred from the companies of Salmon's and Gibbons's regiments in England, who were to be shipped to Flanders. On

[139]Firth, 'Armies in Flanders', p. 87; Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 533; T.S.P., VII, 175, 179, 237-41, 274, 466-7, 579-80. The companies of Salmon's regiment mustered on 24 June were:- Colonel Salmon's, Lieutenant-Colonel Pepper's, Major Pitman's and those under Captains Cooke, Warde, Bacon and Boucher. In all, 16 officers and 638 other ranks were present. Of the company commanders, only Pepper, Warde and Bacon were actually present. (Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A 59, fol. 209).

[140]Firth, 'Armies in Flanders', pp. 87-8; P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, p. 71: 7 Oct. 1658.

[141]P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/13/33, pp. 132-3, 185: 9 Nov. and 3 Dec. 1658.

[142]P.R.O., S.P. 18/103 no. 3: 5 Oct. 1658; P.R.O. 31/17/33, p. 69: 5 Oct. 1658. One of Biscoe's companies was in fact at Dunkirk in July 1658 (Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 402).

their return journey, the vessels were to bring back as many of Salmon's and Gibbon's regiments as possible, who were then to be quartered in Norfolk and Kent respectively. In the former case, the allotted quarters were later dispersed over Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex.[143] In January, six companies of Salmon's regiment and one of Biscoe's arrived at Yarmouth from Dunkirk.[144] Captain Wisdom's company of Salmon's regiment was stationed at Norwich in the spring of 1659.[145] In the summer of 1659, two companies of Salmon's regiment were still at Dunkirk and were asking to return home.[146] However, in August the companies were still there, with little immediate prospect of being recalled.[147] They may have returned with the three English regiments there on the outbreak of the Booth uprising in August.[148] The companies at Norwich were withdrawn from the city in early August,[149] and all seven companies of Salmon's regiment were sent to the North-West against Booth.[150] Hewson's regiment from London was used to secure Essex during that

[143]P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, pp. 221-8, 234-5, 245-6, 295-6, 300: 16 and 17 Dec. 1658, 13 Jan. 1659; Firth (ed.), 'Clarke Papers', III, 171; T.S.P., VII, 579; Mercurius Politicus, p. 118: 23-30 Dec. 1658. According to Firth, the old soldiers refused to go to Flanders and new recruits were sent instead (Firth, 'Armies in Flanders', p. 88).

[144]P.R.O., S.P. 18/207, no. 50: 11 Jan. 1659.

[145]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fols. 98v; P.R.O., S.P. 28/119, fol. 297.

[146]Bodleian Tanner MS 51, fol. 86 (printed in Firth (ed.), 'Clarke Papers', III, 283).

[147]T.S.P., VII, 722-3.

[148]Firth, 'Armies in Flanders', pp. 91-2; C.J., VII, 723, 760; Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 251, 255, 263, 287, 314, 409: 31 July, 1, 4, 8 and 10 Aug. 1659.

[149]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 105.

[150]S.P. 28/118, fol. 483.

month.[151] Salmon's regiment subsequently returned to the Eastern Counties[152] Because of his sympathy with Lambert and the army grandees, Salmon was replaced by Col. Arthur Evelyn as regimental commander in early 1660.[153] Two companies of the regiment were once again stationed in Norwich;[154] and other companies of the regiment under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pepper were quartered at Bury St Edmunds.[155] The regiment, like most of the regiments of the New Model, was disbanded later that year.[156]

[151]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 259: 1 Aug. 1659.

[152]P.R.O., S.P. 28/117, fols. 45, 267, 516, 599; S.P. 28/118, fols. 137, 138, 383; S.P. 28/119, fols. 297, 299, 300, 301.

[153]Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 534.

[154]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fols. 113, 118v.

[155]S.P. 25/108, p. 59: 21 Apr. 1660; B.L. Addit. MS 46190, fols. 111-12.

[156]Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 534.

2.3 Garrisons

2.3.1 The place of garrisons in the system of defence

The points of strategic importance in the Eastern Counties, Lynn, Yarmouth, Norwich, the complexes around Harwich and Colchester, and Tilbury, needed to be held and covered by the government if the region was to be secure against enemy invasion. Since the government could not maintain large forces at each point on an indefinite basis, the points themselves needed to be fortified so that they could be defended by relatively small forces. As mobility was not a consideration, guns could be used to cover the landward and seaward approaches, with a relatively small number of foot to man the garrisons. Fortifications could, however, fall into enemy hands, and the events in the Eastern Counties during 1648 had shown how disastrous it would be to leave undemolished fortifications unmanned. It was necessary, therefore, to determine exactly how many points it was possible to garrison, and to render all other potential strongpoints untenable.

In late 1648, a committee of army officers was appointed to review the question of fortified points. In May 1649, after consultations with the Council of State, the committee delivered a draft establishment to the Committee of the Army. The Committee recommended that six garrison

strongpoints be retained in the Eastern Counties: those at Lynn, Great Yarmouth, Landguard Point, Harwich, Mersea Island and Tilbury. Colchester was not to be garrisoned, and instead its fortifications were to be demolished. Norwich was not allocated a regular garrison either, and its defence was left to the city's own forces. The logic followed by the committee was that the country should be secured by a few well-defended strongpoints along the coast to prevent foreign invasion; but no strongpoints were to be retained inland where they could be taken more easily by an enemy force and where they would not serve directly to protect the country from an invading army.[1] The state of the garrisons was reviewed again in the retrenchment which followed the victory at Worcester in September 1651.[2] All the garrisons in the Eastern Counties were kept up, but at reduced levels. In the further review in the middle of 1655, however, it was decided to dismantle the fortifications at Mersea Island and Harwich, presumably because it was considered that the well-equipped fort at Landguard Point was sufficient protection for the area of Suffolk and Essex north and south of the Stour and the Orwell.[3] In October 1659, the restored Rump Parliament's Committee of Safety was ordered to consider which garrisons should be

[1] Reece, 'Military presence', p. 128; Worcester College, Clark MSS 67 and 72.

[2] /C.J./, VII, 16, 18, 23, 25, 26; P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 43: 9 Sept. 1651; S.P. 25/65, pp. 28, 31: 18 and 23 April 1651; S.P. 25/89, pp. 37, 38: 9 May 1651; S.P. 25/20, pp. 3, 24, 45, 50: 2, 11, 18 and 19 June 1651.

[3] P.R.O., S.P. 18/99, no. 43, 66I, 92: 12, 20 and 23 July 1655; S.P. 18/101, no. 120: 14 Nov. 1655; S.P. 25/76, pp. 176, 187, 205, 212, 379: 12, 19, 26 and 31 July, 15 Nov. 1655; S.P. 25/76A, pp. 78-87, 107-124: 12 and [26] July 1655.

continued and which demolished.[4] The establishment of February 1660 did not include a garrison for Lynn, and provided for a minimal one at Great Yarmouth.[5] After the Restoration, the garrisons at Lynn and Yarmouth were removed with the disbandment of the New Model, but Landguard Fort and Tilbury, guarding as they did the shipping frontiers, were retained.

2.3.2 Fortifications

The most basic type of fortification was walls or earthworks round the town itself, as in the cases of Lynn, Yarmouth and Harwich. While they provided comprehensive protection to the town itself, by the same token they required a large garrison to man them; and the policy of Interregnum governments tended to be to leave these in favour of small, tactically-situated forts.[6] Nevertheless, since the co-operation of the townspeople was essential for the system of defence to function at all, the government often softened this policy and left responsibility for the town's fortification to the corporations of the places concerned, or alternatively, left it to the initiative of other local individuals or groups to present proposals to the Council about the defence of their town. The town fortifications at both Lynn and Yarmouth dated from medieval times. At Lynn, a town wall and fence protected the

[4] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79 p. 557: 7 Oct. 1659.

[5] B.L., Harleian MS 6844, fol. 188.

[6] Reece, 'Military presence', pp. 126-34.

eastern, beachward, side of the town with outer defences to the north and south.[7] At Yarmouth, the entire landward side of the town, north, east and south, was enclosed by a wall with several towers and a ditch.[8] The defences of Yarmouth were strengthened during the reign of Elizabeth I by the erection of a mound of earth on the east side of the town on which to place guns to fire across to the sea, and another round mound next to the south gate to cover seaward approaches from the River Yare;[9] and proposals for the extension of the earthworks were made in 1625, although it is not clear whether or not these were actually implemented.[10] At Lynn a gun platform called St Ann's fort was constructed in 1627 to cover the approach to the town up the River Ouse.[11] After the outbreak of the Civil War, extensive outworks were built at both Lynn and Yarmouth. At Lynn, the outworks both north and south of the town were extended at Parliament's expense in 1642. Another gun emplacement was constructed at the 'World's End', a tongue of land between the Mill Fleet and the River Nene at the south of the town.[12] At Yarmouth, a sixty-foot-wide ditch and earthworks were dug around the

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- [7] Edward Beloe, Our Borough, Our Churches, Kings Lynn (Cambridge, 1899), pp. 3-6, map no. 2 also map no. 3; Harrod, Report, pp. 43-56.
- [8] H. Manship (revised by C.J. Palmer), The History of Great Yarmouth (Yarmouth, 1854) p. 68; H. Swinden, The History and Antiquities of... Great Yarmouth (Norwich, 1662), p. 75.
- [9] Manship, Great Yarmouth, pp. 73-4.
- [10] Swinden, Great Yarmouth, pp. 111-12.
- [11] Benjamin Mackerell, The History and Antiquities of Kings Lynn (London, 1738), p. 2; William Richards, The History of Lynn (Lynn, 1812), p. 717.
- [12] N.N.R.O., KL/Map: 1646; KL/C7/10, fols. 13 et seq., 67, 68, 97v, 103; Hillen, King's Lynn, pp. 350, 362; HMC Eleventh report, appendix III, pp. 179-80.

south and north-east side of the town, and breast-works and platforms to mount ordnance were set up towards the sea.[13] At Harwich, an 'oulde bank' ran round the town to the landward side, and the town was further guarded by two forts, one of which may have been a circular redoubt. The fortifications were substantially repaired in early 1644.[14] At Ipswich too, the defences were repaired in 1642, but never used. All in all, by 1648, all three towns had extensive fortifications of their own, and since, unlike Colchester, they remained garrisoned, the town defences were largely retained. At Lynn, the governor, Colonel Walton, recommended, in 1648, that the new earthworks, probably those in the north of the town should be slighted as he did not have sufficient soldiers to man them.[15] At Yarmouth, the corporation was permitted to remove the earth which had been rampired against the gates on the eastern side of the town, as a landward attack was no longer deemed immanent. The mound at the southern entrance to the town had been repaired in 1648, at the expense of the corporation, probably as a precaution against privateers sailing up the river from the sea.[16] Apart from these re-adjustments, the town fortifications remained intact.

[13] Swinden, Great Yarmouth, p. 129; Manship, Great Yarmouth, p. 277 (Palmer's notes); C.J. Palmer, 'The Town Walls of Great Yarmouth', Norfolk Archaeology, VI (1864) pp. 110, 121.

[14] A map dated by Mr L.T. Weaver at shortly before 1678 shows the 'oulde bank' lying between the town and the marshes to the south west; Harwich, 98/3, 7 Feb. 1644; P.R.O., S.P. 25/70, p. 209; 10 Aug. 1653.

[15] H.M.C., Portland, I, 464.

[16] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 129v; Y/C27/2: Mich. 1647-Mich. 1648.

After the review of the garrisons in 1649, the Council of State pursued an ambitious policy with respect to town fortifications. On the one hand it tried to ensure that the existing town defences be maintained and guarded, but on the other, especially after the retrenchment which followed the victory at Worcester, it ordered the demolition or slighting of town fortifications whenever possible. At Yarmouth the corporation had agreed temporarily to repair the court of guard for the town's garrison,[17] and the Tollhouse Hall was used by the garrison for its council of war.[18] In mid-1649, the Council approved proposals to reduce the garrison at Yarmouth to a citadel and so withdraw the soldiers from the defences of the town itself.[19] In December 1652, the old guardhouses were repaired,[20] and in 1657, the east mound and the guardhouses next to the market-place and the north gate were restored and repaired once again for the town's garrison.[21] At Lynn and Crowland, the fortifications were repaired at the Council's expense in 1650.[22] At the beginning of 1653, however, it was decided to demolish the court of guard on the northern side of the town, which was

[17] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 129v, 138, 149v; Y/C27/2: Mich. 1647-Mich. 1648.

[18] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 135.

[19] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, p. 525: 10 July 1649.

[20] S.P. 25/68, p. 104: 16 Dec. 1652.

[21] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 305, 305v, 307; P.R.O., S.P. 25/78 p. 341: 10 Dec. 1657; S.P. 28/333, exchequer payment: 13 Feb. 1658; E. 351/3602, declared account of Colonel Biscoe: 7 July 1659; Reports of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, (P.R.O.) V, appendix ii, p. 269.

[22] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 495: 29 June 1650. Previously, Walton had recommended that two forts be built upon the 'inward line' of the town's defences, and Parliament was reported to have ordered, in August 1648, that two thousand oaks be sent to Lynn, presumably for the purpose, although there is no evidence to confirm that these were actually delivered. Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 373.

done despite the request of the corporation to the Council that it be retained.[23] Presumably, the corporation feared that the town would then be vulnerable to a Dutch assault on the town from the northward side, but the government was clearly unwilling to man landward defences when all its energies were committed to the naval war effort. By 1655, the government's policy had been relaxed somewhat, and a new guardhouse was built at the north- west corner of the town.[24] In 1656, the corporation was also able to repair and re-equip St Ann's fort with government assistance.[25] In July 1659, the town's defences were once again extensively reviewed and repaired.[26] The town fortifications of Harwich were repaired in 1649,[27] and in 1653, the Council decided instead to demolish the two old forts which guarded the town[28] and so rendered the town defenceless.

Forts had the advantage over town defences in that they could be garrisoned with comparatively few men, and could be situated so as to

[23] Hillen, King's Lynn, p. 385; N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fol. 370v; KL/C39/103, chamberlain's accounts Mich. 1652-Mich. 1653, p. 38; P.R.O., S.P. 25/41, p. 88: 15 April 1653.

[24] N.N.R.O. KL/C39/103, Mich. 1655 - Mich. 1656, pp. 41, 45,; P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 550: 15 Feb. 1656; S.P. 25/105, p. 196: 15 Feb. 1656.

[25] N.N.R.O., KL/C39/103, Mich. 1655 - Mich. 1656, pp. 42-7; P.R.O., S.P. 25/112, p. 312: 23 May 1656.

[26] N.N.R.O., KL/C7/11, fol. 20; KL/C39/103, Mich. 1658 - Mich. 1659, pp. 35-40. The Council issued £179 to the town for the purpose out of its contingency fund at the end of August, but the warrant lapsed in the confusion of late 1659 and had to be renewed at the beginning of February 1660. (P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, p. 477: 23 Aug. 1659; S.P. 25/107, pp. 102, 179: 26 Aug. 1659; 7 Feb. 1660.)

[27] P.R.O. S.P. 25/63, p. 125: 5 Oct. 1649; S.P. 25/109 p. 45: 5 Oct. 1649; S.P. 25/117, p. 5: 5 Oct. 1659.

[28] P.R.O., S.P. 25/70, p. 270: 10 Aug. 1653; S.P. 18/40, no. 126: 27 Sept. 1653.

achieve maximum strategic and tactical effect. Their maintenance depended almost entirely on central government or the county militia commission, except in the case of Yarmouth, and to a lesser extent Mersea Island, where the forts were vital to the defence of the towns of Yarmouth and Colchester respectively.

Yarmouth and Lothingland together constituted one strategic point in the Eastern Counties, and after the siege of Colchester, the Parliament was advised to build a fort there to protect it from seaward assault.[29] But these proposals were not acted upon immediately and the town itself was garrisoned afterwards by Berkstead's regiment. When, however, the position of the garrison at Yarmouth was reviewed in mid-1649, Joachim Haynes, a military engineer, was sent to the area and a fort was built there to house two hundred men. The fort was probably situated next to the town itself and was probably of a temporary character.[30] The following spring, Col. Robert Jermy of the Norfolk militia proposed that another fort be built opposite Yarmouth at Gorleston to cover the entrance to the haven. Another engineer, Lieutenant-Colonel Rosewarm, was sent to Yarmouth to study the

[29] P.R.O., S.P. 21/10, p. 139: 19 Sept. 1648; C.J., VI, 33; Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 371, 409 (Whitelocke ascribes the letter to the Lieutenant-General, but Cromwell was away in the North at the time. It was probably the Lord General himself who advised Parliament to build the fort, as he had just previously inspected the area).

[30] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, pp. 528, 536: 13 and 17 July 1649; S.P. 25/63. p. 36: 3 Sept. 1649; S.P. 25/ 109, p. 8: 3 Sept. 1649; S.P. 46/102, fol. 71: 17 July 1649; E. 101/67/11B, membrane 131.

possibility.[31] The project lapsed and the Worcester campaign diverted the government's attention elsewhere. The idea of building forts at Yarmouth was only taken up again in the latter half of 1652 after the outbreak of the Dutch War, when the security of Yarmouth became once again of direct strategic significance.[32] Two forts were built: one at Lowestoft and the other at Gorleston.[33] The fort at Lowestoft was still in use in early 1656 as a defence against the pirates which were then terrorizing the coast;[34] but both forts were of a temporary nature and after the Restoration, the fort at Lowestoft had been washed away by the sea.[35] Neither was given an independent garrison, and both were manned by the Yarmouth garrison.

Landguard Fort, which guarded the confluence of the Stour and Orwell, had been built in 1626.[36] It was situated on a promontory opposite Harwich, and was surrounded by open common and marsh.[37] The fort itself was built of earth and had a bastion at each of its four corners, on which guns could be mounted.[38] The fort fell somewhat into

[31] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, p. 320: 24 April 1651; S.P. 25/19, pp. 104, 113, 135: 6, 8 and 15 May 1651; S.P. 25/20, pp. 10, 11: 3 June 1651; Manship, Great Yarmouth, pp. 207-8 (Palmer's notes).

[32] P.R.O., S.P. 25/30, p. 31: 14 July 1652.

[33] P.R.O., S.P. 25/32, pp. 19, 20: 3 Aug. and 20 Sept. 1652; S.P. 25/33, p. 42: 19 Oct. 1652; S.P. 25/68, pp. 105, 108, 134, 197: 16 and 22 Dec. 1652, 5 Jan. 1653; S.P. 25/104, p. 4: 16 Dec. 1652.

[34] P.R.O. S.P. 18/124, nos. 38 and 46: 8 and 12 Feb. 1656.

[35] Gillingwater, An historical account of the ancient town of Lowestoft..., p. 460.

[36] J.H. Leslie, The History of Landguard Fort in Suffolk (London, 1898), p. 11.

[37] Leslie, Landguard Fort, map of country around Landguard fort.

[38] Leslie, Landguard Fort, plate IV, p. 15.

disrepair during the 1630s,[39] but was repaired at the beginning of the Civil War, and responsibility for its maintenance was given to the Committee of the Eastern Association at Westminster in conjunction with the local militia authorities.[40] With the demise of the Eastern Association at the end of the Civil War, it became directly the charge of the central government.[41] In 1650, the fortifications were repaired and the Ordnance Officers were entrusted with the supply of stores for this purpose.[42] The condition of the fort was reviewed once again during the Dutch War, and both the Admiralty Commissioners and the Ordnance Committee were ordered to see that all the necessary measures were taken for its security, but only marginal repairs were made.[43] After the outbreak of the war with Spain, the fort was repaired yet again.[44] In early 1657, it was reported that the fort was still in disrepair, and a survey of it was ordered to assess what should be done.[45] After the Restoration, in the years leading up to the second Dutch War, the buildings inside the fort were completely reconstructed.[46] Thus, by the time of the Restoration, the strategic importance of the fort at Landguard was well recognized.

[39] Leslie, Landguard Fort, pp. 22-24.

[40] Leslie, Landguard Fort, pp. 27-9.

[41] Leslie, Landguard Fort, p. 30.

[42] P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, p. 5: 22 July 1650; S.P. 25/14, p. 5: 9 Dec. 1650; S.P. 25/66, pp. 28, 33: 5 Dec. 1650; S.P. 25/100, p. 115: 22 July 1650; S.P. 25/103, p. 22: 5 Dec. 1650.

[43] P.R.O., S.P. 25/72, pp. 18, 44, 90: 7, 10, 18 and 21 Nov 1653.

[44] P.R.O., A.O. 1/2319, nos. 596-7.

[45] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 715: 17 Feb. 1656.

[46] P.R.O., A.O. 1/2319, nos. 598-9.

The fort on Mersea Island was situated in the salt marshes on the eastern corner of the island and guarded the mouth of the Colne, which led up to Colchester. The fort consisted of triangular earthworks, each side eighty yards in length, surrounded by a moat.[47] It was of a temporary nature, and it is not known when it was built. When the Royalists occupied Colchester in 1648, they seized the fort as well, but it was quickly recaptured by Parliament who prevented any relief reaching the town by sea.[48] After the siege, it was inspected by the Lord General himself[49] and the use of the fort was continued, but the Council made little direct effort to repair it, and the governor was forced to borrow money for the purpose from Henry Barrington, the leading Independent member of the Colchester corporation.[50] In early 1650, the Council instructed the Ordnance Officers to carry out the necessary repairs;[51] and after the Norfolk insurrection, the Council considered proposals by the governor of Colchester, Sir Thomas Honeywood, for a proper fort to be erected on the island, given its tactical importance for the security of Colchester.[52] The Essex militia commissioners were instructed to see that the fort be put into a

[47] L.C. Sier, 'The Fort, East Mersea', Essex Review, XXX (1921), pp. 222-3; Worcester College, Clarke MS 72.

[48] Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 332-3, 337; H.M.C., Twelfth report, appendix IX, p. 22.

[49] Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 405.

[50] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, pp. 96, 128: 21 Sept. and 6 Oct. 1649; S.P. 25/64, p. 413: 1 June 1650; S.P. 25/109, p. 19: 6 Oct. 1649; S.P. 25/117, pp. 8, 57: 6 Oct. 1649 and 3 June 1650.

[51] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 25, 40, 77: 25 Feb. and 9 Mar. 1650; S.P. 25/117, p. 20: 11 Mar. 1650.

[52] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 48: 7 Dec. 1650.

defensible condition, and turf was supplied by the local inhabitants to build up the earthworks.[53] During the Dutch war, the governor of Mersea Island petitioned the Council for further assistance in the repair of the fort, and on the advice of the Ordnance Committee, money was advanced out of the Council's contingency fund for the purpose, and money was even provided for a flag.[54] But after the review of the mid-1655, it was decided to demolish the fort on the island entirely.[55]

The oldest fort in the Eastern Counties was at Tilbury, and dated from 1540.[56] It was situated on the Gravesend Reach of the River Thames, and thus commanded the Thames from Tilbury Hope in the East to the North Hope in the west.[57] Access to the fort could only be gained across a causeway from the village of West Tilbury through the Tilbury marshes, so the fort was very secure against landward enemy attack.[58] By the time of the Civil War, the fort had fallen into a dilapidated condition,[59] and few efforts were made during the war to repair

[53] P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 23 Apr. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 112: 5 Apr. 1651; S.P. 25/65, p. 219: 4 Apr. 1651; S.P. 25/19, p. 171: 29 May 1651; S.P. 25/67, p. 221: 7 June 1651; S.P. 18/34, no. 20: 9 Mar. 1653.

[54] P.R.O., S.P. 25/103, pp. 166, 268: 7 June and 25 Oct. 1652; S.P. 25/40, p. 69: 10 Mar. 1653; S.P. 18/34, no. 20: 9 Mar. 1653.

[55] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 340: 20 Oct. 1651; S.P. 18/101, no. 59: 20 Oct. 1655.

[56] George Biddell, 'Tilbury Fort', Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, new series, XIII (1915), 25-8; J.W. Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, new series, XXXVIII (1932), 83-127.

[57] Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort', pp. 84-5.

[58] Chapman and Andre, map of Essex (1777); Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort', pp. 89-90.

[59] Biddell, 'Tilbury Fort', p. 27; Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort', pp. 106-7.

it.[60] Towards the end of May 1648, the Committee at Derby House ordered that the fort be repaired and strengthened;[61] but, in the spring of 1649, the Rump's Council of State was alerted to the poor condition of the fort, and instructed the fort governor and the Essex militia commissioners to repair it, after which estimates were reported to the House on behalf of the Council by Sir William Masham, one of the Essex M.P.s.[62] A survey was made of the fort's state of repair, which the Council referred to the consideration of the Ordnance Committee the following March.[63] In June 1650, the Council appointed a special committee which included the two Essex knights of the shire, to investigate how the money for the repair of the fort had been spent.[64] Two months later, Colonel Berkstead made an independent report on the condition of the forts with proposals for their remedy, and the Council ordered that the house built next to the fort be demolished.[65] In February 1651, Colonel Crompton, the newly-appointed governor, reported that the condition of the wharf, earthworks and building needed much attention.[66] Some repairs had already been made,[67] and further

[60] Burrows 'Tilbury Fort', pp. 107-8; H.M.C., Portland, I, 487-8.

[61] Lyndon, 'Essex and the King's Cause in 1648', Historical Journal, XXIX, 1 (1986), p. 25.

[62] P.R.O., S.P. 25/94, pp. 190-2: 24 May 1649; S.P. 25/62, pp. 359, 378: 28 and 31 May 1649.

[63] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 119: 26 Mar. 1650.

[64] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 450: 15 June 1650.

[65] S.P. 25/8, p. 62: 8 Aug. 1650.

[66] P.R.O., S.P. 18/15, no. 14 and 14I: [Feb. ?] 1651.

[67] P.R.O. p. 25/17, p. 48: 8 Feb. 1651.

repairs were undertaken in the following months.[68] Thus the Council ensured that the fort was made fit to perform its vital strategic function, which became especially critical with the outbreak of the Dutch War the following year.

2.3.3 Garrison ordnance

The provision of each strongpoint with guns was the responsibility of the Ordnance Officers based at the Tower. This was often done at the request of the governor, or, in the case of boroughs, at the request of the corporation and its town gunner; but the overall control of the allocation of ordnance rested with the Council, and it could make use of this control to pursue national objectives even at the expense of weakening the defences of particular localities. In May 1649, to follow up the proposals for the new establishment, the Council requested the Lord General to order that an account be given of all ordnance and ammunition held by the various garrisons.[69] A survey of the ordnance was conducted in the spring of 1650 in order to complete the train of artillery for the Scots campaign.[70] Further reviews were conducted

[68] P.R.O., S.P. 18/15, no. 90: 18 June 1651; S.P. 25/20, p. 46: 18 June 1651; S.P. 25/21, p. 1: 8 Aug 1651; S.P. 25/103, p. 259: 2 Oct. 1652; S.P. 46/102, fol. 2v; Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort', p. 109

[69] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, pp. 324, 526: 18 May and 13 July 1649; S.P. 25/94: 14 July 1649; B.L., Stowe MS 189, fols. 45-7.

[70] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 152, 223-4: 2 and 17 April 1650.

during the Dutch War,[71] after the dismantling of garrisons under the establishment of October 1655,[72] and again in August 1659.[73]

Both Lynn and Yarmouth were supplied with additional ordnance at the beginning of the Civil War. By 1643, Lynn was reported to have possessed some forty to fifty guns. St Anne's fort had been equipped with ten culverins and had obtained some more on loan from the Tower.[74] In 1650, new carriages were delivered for demi-culverins and sakers there.[75] Yarmouth had possessed some thirty pieces before the war and was supplied with several more. In 1645, several pieces were mounted towards the rear of the town to fire on hostile ships in the road.[76] Landguard fort had originally been armed with forty-three guns, to which nineteen further pieces had been added,[77] and there was not much addition to this armament during the Civil War. Harwich's ordnance was reported in the 1630s to have consisted of ten guns on the town wall and fort, with another ten or so lying useless at the quayside.[78] In 1652, Harwich possessed culverins, demi-culverins and sakers.[79] By then the ordnance of Landguard and Harwich together amounted to forty-five

[71] P.R.O., S.P. 25/32, p. 10: 23 Aug. 1652; S.P. 25/68, pp. 225, 337: 11 and 12 Jan. 1653.

[72] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 524: 6 Feb. 1656; S.P. 25/77, p. 368: 5 Sept. 1656.

[73] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 259, 281: 1 and 3 Aug. 1659.

[74] Hillen, King's Lynn, pp. 348-9, 355; Richards, Lynn, II, 717; H.M.C., Eleventh Report, appendix III, p. 179.

[75] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 388-9: 25 May 1650.

[76] Swinden, Great Yarmouth, pp. 109-13, 115, 130; Manship, Great Yarmouth, p. 277 (Palmer's notes).

[77] Leslie, Landguard Fort, p. 16.

[78] Leslie, Landguard Fort, p. 22.

[79] P.R.O., S.P. 18/24 no. 41: 14 June 1652.

pieces.[80] The fort at Mersea Island possessed five pieces of ordnance by 1649,[81] and three more pieces were sent down to the fort from Colchester in the spring of 1650.[82] Tilbury had a large number of guns ranging from culverins to minions, and in March 1650 obtained further brass sakers on the recommendation of the Ordnance Officers.[83] Thus, until 1652, the allocation of ordnance remained much as it had been during the Civil War.

The situation changed in the months leading up to the outbreak of the war against the Dutch in 1652. The Council ordered that brass guns in the shore forts be supplied and replaced, where possible, by iron ones. In Norfolk, the Council requested Colonel Walton, in February 1652, to supervise the removal of brass guns from Lynn and Yarmouth to the Tower.[84] In March, the master gunner of Lynn took an inventory of the brass guns and the first shipment of them took place shortly afterwards.[85] In April, eighteen tons and eight hundredweight of ordnance were shipped from Yarmouth to Tower Wharf by barge.[86] Guns from Landguard fort were shipped to London according to the instructions

[80] P.R.O., S.P. 18/24, no. 41: 14 June 1652.

[81] Whitelocke, *Memorials*, II, 332-3; Worcester College, Clarke MS 72.

[82] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 394, 421: 27 May and 4 June 1650; S.P. 25/8, p. 7: 22 July 1650; S.P. 25/100, p. 116: 22 July 1650.

[83] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 119, 146, 153: 26 Mar. 1650, 1 and 2 Apr. 1650; S.P. 18/15, no. 14I: Feb. 1651.

[84] P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, p. 360: 19 Feb. 1652.

[85] P.R.O., S.P. 18/27, nos. 47, 48: 8 Mar, 1652; S.P. 25/65, p. 605: 19 Apr. 1652; S.P. 25/103, p. 124: 19 Apr. 1652.

[86] P.R.O., S.P. 25/103, pp. 123: 19 Apr. 1652; S.P. 25/66, p. 607: 19 Apr. 1652; S.P. 25/29, p. 22: 12 July 1652.

which the governor of that garrison had received from the Council the previous month.[87] During the following year, the situation became even more desperate. Capt. Edward Shooter, storekeeper of Lynn, was ordered to send up all ordnance in the town to the Tower except for one demi-culverin, nine sakers and two minions, all of iron.[88] Two small ships were loaded for the purpose, and despite some difficulty because of convoys, they eventually reached their destination.[89] The entire operation demonstrated forcibly how far the Council was prepared to risk local defence and the attendant sensibilities of the coastal population about their own safety, in order to pursue the national war effort.

The land defences were not completely neglected, however. The forts built at Yarmouth and Lowestoft in late 1652 were equipped with gun emplacements and armed accordingly, the latter with a four-gun battery.[90] In December 1652, eighty-two and a half tons of ordnance was shipped from the Tower to Yarmouth, and two block guns were supplied for the fortifications at Yarmouth in early 1653.[91] In 1656, on the governor's advice, six gun carriages at the fort of Lowestoft, eight at Yarmouth and another eight in the town itself, were repaired.[92] At

[87] P.R.O., S.P. 25/97, p. 196: 10 Mar. 1652; S.P. 25/66, p. 607: 19 Apr. 1652; S.P. 25/103 p. 117: 19 Apr. 1652; S.P. 18/24, no. 41: 14 Apr. 1652.

[88] N.N.R.O., KL/C39/103, Mich. 1652-Mich. 1653 p. 34; P.R.O., S.P. 18/34, no. 13: 7 Mar. 1653.

[89] P.R.O., S.P. 18/51 nos. 51 and 104: 21 and 29 Apr. 1653.

[90] P.R.O., S.P. 18/24, no. 73: 13 July 1652; S.P. 25/103, pp. 268-9: 25 Oct. 1652; Gillingwater, Lowestoft, p. 420.

[91] P.R.O., S.P. 25/104, pp. 15, 40: 30 Dec. 1652 and 9 Mar. 1653; S.P. 25/68, p. 171: 30 Dec. 1652.

[92] P.R.O., S.P. 18/124, no. 38: 8 Feb. 1656; S.P. 25/112, p. 312: 23 May 1656.

Lynn in early 1653, the corporation undertook a review of the ordnance belonging to it and took care to see that the guns remaining to them were properly mounted at St Anne's fort;[93] and in 1655, further repairs were carried out to the carriages of the guns there.[94] At Landguard and Harwich, the Ordnance Officers were ordered urgently in December 1652 to refit the gun carriages to strengthen their defences against naval attack,[95] and the gun carriages at Landguard were once again repaired by the Ordnance Officers in 1656 after the outbreak of the war against Spain.[96] When the fortifications of Harwich were demolished in the latter half of 1653, the guns from there were added to those at Landguard fort.[97] The fort at Tilbury was supplied with guns in 1652 according to recommendations made by Colonels Thompson and Morely, two of the Admiralty Commissioners, who inspected the fort in that year.[98]

Corporations and garrisons each possessed their own magazines. Those of the former were a local responsibility, and special deliveries of powder, shot, paper, match and a whole variety of other items were made by order of the Council, through the Ordnance Committee, to the town magazine, usually at the request of the corporation itself or the

[93] N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fol. 370v; KL/C39/103, Mich. 1652 - Mich. 1653, p. 37; P.R.O., S.P. 25/69: 11 May 1653.

[94] N.N.R.O., KL/C39/103 Mich. 1655 - Mich. 1656, pp. 34, 43-7; P.R.O., S.P. 25/112 p. 312: 23 May 1656.

[95] P.R.O., S.P. 25/68, p. 76: 13 Dec. 1652.

[96] B.L., Addit. MS 33208, fol. 63v

[97] P.R.O., S.P. 25/70, p. 209: 10 Aug. 1653.

[98] P.R.O., S.P. 25/103, p. 191: 1 July 1652; S.P. 25/29, p. 88: 6 July 1652.

governor of the town. Garrison magazines were the responsibility of the Council and the Lord General. In both instances it was the Council which had the final say in the disposition of ordnance stores. In the summer of 1649, the Council sent orders to the governors of the various garrisons to return inventories of their magazines, and to report which stores belonged to the State and which to the county.[99] This order was followed up by a survey by Ordnance Officers in the following months.[100]

The magazine situated in the town storehouse at Yarmouth was the responsibility of the muragers. Nevertheless, in July 1649, the muragers delivered the key of the storehouse to the town governor at the latter's request.[101] The corporation regarded the contents of the magazine as its own property, and throughout the period defrayed more than half the costs which it incurred through the repair of fortifications by the sale of old guns, powder and other ordnance items.[102] The garrison at Lynn kept its own magazine, and the Ordnance Officers made several deliveries of gunpowder and other stores to the garrison at Walton's request.[103] The storekeeper, Capt. Edward Shooter, was on the regular establishment.[104] Most of the ordnance stores at Lynn were kept in the

[99] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, p. 526: 13 July 1649; S.P. 25/94, p. 304: 14 July 1649.

[100] B.L., Stowe MS 189, fols. 45-7.

[101] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 147-8.

[102] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7 fols. 136, 139; Y/C27/2.

[103] B.L., Addit. MS 35332, fols. 160-168v.

[104] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 49v; P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 207, 306: 15 Apr. and 4 May 1650.

Guildhall although a number of other venues belonging to the corporation were also used, among them St George's Hall on the banks of the Ouse, and the Chamberlain's house.[105] Only a limited amount of powder and shot was kept at St Anne's fort itself, possibly because of the danger that enemy men-of-war might fire upon the fort.[106]

The ordnance stores at Landguard, Harwich, Tilbury and Mersea Island as well as the batteries built at Gorlestone and Lowestoft were supervised and maintained directly by the Ordnance Officers. Ammunition was shipped to the fort at Gorlestone and Lowestoft at the end of 1652, and again in early 1653,[107] but by early 1656, the guns at Lowestoft were without ammunition.[108] At Landguard fort in 1652, Capt. Benjamin Gifford returned an inventory of the ordnance stores at both the fort itself and Harwich with a special request for more match to be supplied, but the supply of the ships took precedence over the land defences.[109] The following summer Gifford was asked to send all the powder at Landguard and Harwich to the fleet, except for ten barrels to be kept at each place.[110] The supply of shot and powder at Landguard was replenished by local contractors at Harwich in the summer of 1653;[111] but in 1656, it was the Ordnance Officers who were ordered to re-

[105]N.N.R.O., KL/C39/103; KL/C7/10, fol. 393v.

[106]N.N.R.O., KL/C39/103.

[107]P.R.O., S.P. 25/104, pp. 15, 38: 30 Dec. 1652 and 4 Mar. 1653.

[108]P.R.O., S.P. 18/124, no. 38: 8 Feb. 1656.

[109]P.R.O., S.P. 18/24, no. 41: 14 June 1652.

[110]P.R.O., S.P. 18/37, no. 48: 7 June 1653.

[111]Harwich, 2/6, Sacke v. Hubberde.

supply the fort[112] The garrison on Mersea Island was supplied with shot by the Ordnance Officers in 1650, and several consignments of ordnance stores were brought to the island over the course of the next two years.[113] The supply of the fort at Tilbury had, during the Civil War, been the responsibility of the Admiralty Committee, but with its assumption of Admiralty powers in 1649, the Council of State itself ensured that supplies were delivered to the fort in 1649, 1650 and again at the beginning of 1651.[114] But the supply of the fort was delayed by uncertainty as to where responsibility for the supply lay, and at several points during the decade, the Council itself was compelled to intervene further in order to resolve the disputes which arose.[115]

The gunners, mates and matrosses of the garrisons belonged to the permanent garrison establishment. Alongside these personnel were those employed by the corporations: town gunners and their assistants. The two establishments complemented one another, and, in one or two cases, personnel moved from one establishment to the other.

[112]P.R.O., P.R.O. 30/37/5: 12 Aug. 1656.

[113]P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 16: 30 Nov. 1650; S.P. 25/17, p. 8: 25 Jan. 1651; S.P. 25/66, pp. 348, 364: 17 and 19 Feb. 1651.

[114]P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, pp. 303-4: 24 Nov. 1649; S.P. 25/64 p. 498: 1 July 1650; S.P. 25/15, p. 37: 23 Dec. 1650; S.P. 25/16, p. 47: 17 Jan. 1651.

[115]P.R.O., S.P. 18/15, nos. 14, 15 and 73: Feb. and 2 and 12 May 1651; S.P. 25/19, p. 93: 2 May 1651; S.P. 25/67, p. 210: 5 June 1652; S.P. 18/28, no. 15: 7 June 1652; S.P. 25/103, p. 191: 1 July 1652; S.P. 25/29, p. 88: 6 July 1652; S.P. 25/78, p. 47: 4 Aug. 1657; S.P. 25/77, p. 275: 19 Nov. 1657; S.P. 25/78, p. 549: 6 Apr. 1658; S.P. 25/85, pp. 76, 149: 15 June and 5 July 1659; Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 149-50: 7 July 1659; Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort', pp. 110-111 (Burrows is of the opinion that the Council of State itself took over the sole responsibility for the supply of the fort from September 1648).

Under the establishment proposals of early 1649, Tilbury had the largest number of artillery personnel: a master gunner, seven gunners and sixteen matrosses.[116] The strength of the fort's artillery establishment was quite disproportionate to the small size of its garrison, but was in keeping with Tilbury's primary purpose: to command the approaches of the Thames up to London. By comparison, Mersea Island had only one gunner and two matrosses allocated to it, and even the fort at Landguard had a gunner, two mates and six matrosses.[117] Of the garrisons based in the town defences, Lynn had the largest artillery establishment: a master gunner, two mates and ten matrosses compared with a gunner, two mates and six matrosses at Yarmouth, and a gunner, two mates and three matrosses at Harwich.[118] The establishment eventually adopted for Yarmouth in May 1649 consisted of two gunners, two mates and four matrosses;[119] and on 2 July, the Lord General issued a special commission to William Keais, master gunner of the garrison.[120] There were at least six gunners employed at Lynn at the same time.[121] The six gunners together with the master gunner and matrosses were retained in the re-organization of the garrisons under Walton's command which took place in the spring of 1650 together with the master gunner and further matrosses.[122] The artillery establishments of the garrisons in

[116] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 49v.

[117] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 49v.

[118] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 49v.

[119] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 98.

[120] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 98.

[121] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 49.

[122] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 306: 4 May 1650.

the Eastern Counties were left largely unaffected by the review which followed the victory at Worcester,[123] but the review conducted in the summer of 1655 resulted in drastic reductions. The garrison at Harwich and the fort at Lowestoft had already been reduced, and Mersea Island was also recommended for complete disbandment. At Tilbury, the establishment had declined to a master gunner, four gunners, and eight matrosses, and these were further reduced to a gunner, two mates and four matrosses. The establishment at Landguard fort had lost two matrosses in the intervening period, and was further diminished by one of the two gunners' mates and two more matrosses. The artillery establishment at Yarmouth had remained unchanged since 1649, and now the two mates were discharged.[124] The garrison at Lynn was not covered by the review, possibly because its artillery had become the responsibility of the town corporation.

The town gunner at Lynn, William Fenn, had been in charge of the guns at Lynn before 1654, probably as master gunner on the regular establishment;[125] and during 1652, in that capacity, he supervised the transport of brass ordnance from Lynn to the Tower.[126] From Michaelmas 1654, however, he was paid a salary by the corporation as town

[123]C.J., VII, 16, 23, 25-6.

[124]P.R.O., S.P. 18/99 nos. 17 and 43: 4 and 12 July 1655.

[125]Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 49v.

[126]P.R.O., S.P. 18/27, nos. 47 and 48: 8 Mar. 1652.

[127]N.N.R.O., KL/C39/103 and 104; KL/C7/11, fol. 55v.

gunner,[127] and was succeeded in Michaelmas 1660 by John Mason.[128] The town gunner had a number of gunners in his charge, and, by 1662, the town possessed an artillery company to man the ordnance.[129] At Yarmouth, the town gunner, William Barfoot, was discharged in October 1648 when the town was given a garrison on the regular establishment.[130] It is unlikely that Barfoot was subsequently was re-engaged, since the town artillery personnel remained on the regular establishment throughout the Interregnum period.[131] The town artillery company had been revived early in 1648, but was discontinued when the garrison took over the defence of the town.[132]

2.3.4 Garrison foot

The foot establishments of the garrisons reflected the character of the places to which they were assigned. Those garrisoning town fortifications tended to be of a much more fluid and changing nature than did the garrisons assigned to independantly standing forts.

The garrisons' foot in Lynn, Yarmouth and Harwich had each been stationed in their respective towns prior to 1649. Lynn had been

[128]N.N.R.O., KL/C39/104, Mich. 1660 - Mich. 1661, p. 33; KL/C7/11, fol. 55v.

[129]N.N.R.O., KL/C39/104, payment to John Mason 16 Aug. 1662.

[130]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 134 (Barfoot was given a gratuity of £5).

[131]There are no payments to Barfoot after 1648 in the muragers' accounts; (N.N.R.O., Y/C27/2).

[132]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 121, 123, 124, 125.

garrisoned since 1643 by a regiment of foot under Col. Valentine Walton,[133] and by 1649, Walton's forces consisted of eight companies divided between Lynn, Crowland and the Isle of Ely.[134] Yarmouth was garrisoned, on the orders of the Lord General, by the regiment of foot under Col. John Berkstead in September 1648, despite the corporation's representations against it.[135] The corporation accepted the fait accompli, and set up a committee to see that the soldiers were billeted by the constables among the householders of the town on an equal basis.[136] The situation was somewhat eased in December when five companies of the regiment left for London to take part in the army's occupation of the city.[137] In May 1649, Captain Darney's company left for service elsewhere.[138] Nevertheless, the corporation directed that the committee should continue to meet in order to prevent maladministration by the constables in the quartering of soldiers and undue imposition on those 'of the poorer sort'.[139] Harwich too had been garrisoned during 1648. Initially it had been garrisoned by a company under Captain Wheeler, of Colonel Ewer's regiment.[140] Ewer's regiment

[133]Hillen, King's Lynn, pp. 361-3.

[134]P.R.O., E101/67/11B, membrane 51v.

[135]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 129-129v, 136; Y/C27/2, chamberlain's accounts Mich. 1647-Mich. 1648; Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 405-6; Butterfield, 'East Anglia', pp.104-5.

[136]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 132v-133.

[137]Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 340.

[138]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 143.

[139]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 143.

[140]P.R.O., S.P. 28/332; Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 353; During the crisis of 1648 there were also three militia companies of the Essex militia stationed at Harwich under the respective commands of Capts. Alexander Barrington, Thomas Wolfe and John Hunter. (P.R.O., S.P.18/11 no. 39: 1 Oct. 1650; B.L., Harleian 6244, fol. 24b.).

was selected by lot to go to Ireland in April 1649,[141] and Wheeler's company almost certainly went with it.[142] In the spring of 1649, Wheeler's company was replaced by a company of Berkstead's regiment under Capt. Arthur Young.[143] In April 1650 the Council ordered that Colonel Berkstead's regiment be moved to London to act as a guard for Parliament, and that three hundred men from Walton's regiment be sent to Yarmouth to provide the garrison there.[144] The garrison at Yarmouth consisted of two captains and three hundred and forty privates.[145] Two new companies were to be added to Colonel Walton's regiment, bringing it up to twelve hundred in strength to provide part of the number allocated to Yarmouth.[146] One of the newly-raised companies was that under Captain Scrope which was allocated to Harwich. At least two of the companies which now made up the Yarmouth garrison were therefore drawn from those of the existing garrisons. One probably came from Lynn, which was now left with six companies, and the other probably came from the Isle of Ely, since that was now without any soldiers from Walton's regiment.[147] At the end of 1650, Colonel Walton mounted two hundred of his foot as dragoons who were placed under the command of Colonel Rich

[141]Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 352.

[142]There are no payments to Wheeler after April 1648; (P.R.O., S.P. 28/352).

[143]P.R.O., S.P. 18/11, no. 39: 1 Oct. 1650.

[144]P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 188, 269: 11 and 27 Apr. 1650. The last payment to Colonel Berkstead for his garrison at Yarmouth was on 11 April 1650 (E101/67/11B, membrane 25).

[145]S.P. 25/64, p. 304: 4 May 1650.

[146]S.P. 25/64, p. 207: 15 Apr. 1650.

[147]S.P. 25/64, p. 306: 4 May 1650.

to put down the Norfolk insurrection.[148] After the insurrection, the question of retaining one troop of those dragoons was referred to the Committee for Martial Affairs,[149] but it is not known what became of them subsequently. When the Scottish army invaded England at the end of July 1651, the single company at Harwich, together with three from Yarmouth and one from Lynn, was allocated to the special regiment under the command of Major Blake of Yarmouth.[150] During the Worcester campaign, therefore, there were no regular foot in the garrisons of Yarmouth and Harwich, and the garrison at Lynn was severely depleted. Their places were probably taken by local militia forces. After Worcester, the review of the garrisons initially proposed that the garrison at Lynn should consist of six companies: a total of seven hundred and sixty officers and men,[151] but the garrison's strength was subsequently reduced to the equivalent of three companies.[152] In November 1651, the corporation assembly resolved that three propositions 'concerning the listing of soldiers' be brought to Colonel Walton's attention.[153] At the end of that year the remaining three companies

[148] Mercurius Politicus, no. 26, p. 435: 3 Dec. 1650; Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, p. 33; Grey (ed.), Impartial Examination, IV, 106.

[149] S.P. 25/14, p. 15: 9 Dec. 1650.

[150] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 319: 1 Aug. 1651 (the '7000' should read '1000' since there were to be 10 companies of 100 men each).

[151] C.J., VII, 16.

[152] The establishment approved on 2 October provided a net monthly amount of £341 7s. 4d. for the garrison's soldiers, i.e. enough to pay about three hundred men with officers at the standard garrison rate of ninepence per diem. (C.J., VII, 23; Reece 'Military presence', p. 17).

[153] N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fol. 428v.

were also disbanded,[154] and in January, the corporation issued instructions to the aldermen of the respective wards, to see that constables only allowed those disbanded soldiers chargeable to local parishes to remain, and to send all others to their parishes of origin.[155] The garrisons at Yarmouth and Harwich, which had been taken away during the Worcester campaign, were made up of three detached companies from Major-General Lambert's regiment of foot.[156] The initial establishment for the garrisons delivered to Parliament on 11 September 1651 proposed that the garrison at Yarmouth should consist of three companies; a total of three hundred and forty officers and men, although no establishment of foot was set for Harwich.[157] With the fears about the security of Yarmouth and Lothingland in mid-1652, the Council requested the Lord General to order Lambert's regiment to move to Yarmouth and Lothingland to reinforce the garrison there.[158] Lambert's companies were replaced in late 1652 by the regiment of foot under Col. William Goffe who supplied guards both for Yarmouth itself and for the port of Lowestoft.[159] In June 1653, some of Goffe's soldiers were sent to sea to augment the naval forces engaged against the Dutch,[160] but the rest of his force remained at Yarmouth until the

[154]P.R.O., S.P. 25/68, p. 279: 21 Jan. 1653.

[155]N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fol. 370v.

[156]P.R.O., E. 101/67/11B, membrane 20v.

[157]C.J., VII, p. 16.

[158]P.R.O., S.P. 25/30, p. 32: 14 July 1652; S.P. 25/33, p. 58: 30 Sept. 1652.

[159]P.R.O., S.P. 25/68, p. 105: 16 Dec. 1652.

[160]P.R.O., S.P. 18/55, no. 138: 29 June 1653.

autumn of 1655.[161] In 1655, both Lynn and Yarmouth were garrisoned by Sir William Constable's regiment of foot under the command of Lieut.-Col. John Biscoe.[162] Biscoe's regiment probably remained in the area until August 1659 when four of its companies were drawn off to serve against Booth's uprising. These were joined later by the remaining three, and the regiment was sent in December against the Rumpers in Portsmouth.[163] With the departure of Biscoe's companies, the garrison of the town was probably provided by the town militia itself.

The foot of the independently-standing forts was of a relatively fixed strength. Landguard fort was garrisoned by a company of foot with the nominal strength of one hundred under the establishment of 1649.[164] In 1655, forty soldiers of the company under Captain Gifford which had been stationed there were disbanded[165] and partially replaced by ten pensioners.[166] Bedding was ordered in mid-November 1656 to provide for some fifty extra men.[167] At the end of that month, Gifford's company was allocated to march with Colonel Salmon's regiment for eventual service in Flanders.[168] Gifford's company was replaced by

[161]Bodleian, Rawlinson, MS A 208, nos. 384, 388, 392, 403, 416, 789, 850, 853, 1099, 1101, 1175, 1434, 1454, 1512, 1516, 1713, 1809, 2192, 2227, 2494, 2527, 2532, 2758; P.R.O., A.O. 1/47/5.

[162]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 550: 15 Feb. 1656; S.P. 25/105, p. 196: 15 Feb. 1656.

[163]Bodleian, Dep. C 159, fols. 232, 236; P.R.O., S.P. 28/119, fol. 163; Firth and Davies, *Regimental History*, pp. 402-3.

[164]Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, unfoliated; *C.J.*, VII, 16.

[165]P.R.O., S.P. 18/99, nos. 17 and 43: 4 and 12 July 1655.

[166]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 215, 314: 1 Aug. and 28 Sept. 1655; S.P. 18/100, no. 157: 28 Sept. 1655.

[167]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 499: 13 Nov. 1656.

[168]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, pp. 519, 547: 25 Nov. and 3 Dec. 1655.

a composite company of one hundred foot drawn from seven field regiments.[169] Gifford's company was replaced by that under Major Cadwell of Colonel Biscoe's regiment.[170] Accommodation at the fort was far from satisfactory, and in early 1657 it was reported that most of the soldiers had had to be billeted in the neighbourhood for want of bedding in the fort itself.[171] In June 1659, a company of foot previously under Lieut.-Col. Henry Flower of Fleetwood's regiment of foot in Ireland was allocated to the governor of Landguard fort.[172] In February 1660, the fort was garrisoned by a company of sixty soldiers.[173] After the Restoration, it was garrisoned by a foot company of one hundred soldiers.[174] The garrisons at Tilbury and Mersea Island shared the equivalent of a company of foot between them from 1649 on.[175] At the time of the siege of Colchester, the garrison at Tilbury had contained thirty-eight men,[176] and by the beginning of the following year, that number had declined to some thirty men.[177] In May 1649, it was recommended that the number of men be increased to forty-four,[178] although only thirty-six men were actually included on

[169]P.R.O., S.P. 18/155, no. 92: 15 July 1655.

[170]S.P. 28/115, fols. 136, 182, 476; S.P. 28/116, fols. 133, 169, 419; S.P. 28/117 fols. 99, 220, 414, 502, 587; S.P. 28/118, fols. 152, 557; S.P. 28/119, fols. 251, 315.

[171]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 715: 17 Feb. 1657.

[172]P.R.O., S.P. 25/127, p. 32; S.P. 25/128, pp. 14, 18; Firth and Davies, Regimental History, pp. 647-8.

[173]B.L., Harleian MS 6844, fol. 188.

[174]Leslie, Landguard Fort, p. 35.

[175]Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fols. 62-61v.

[176]H.M.C., Portland I, 487-8.

[177]Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fols. 62-61v.

[178]Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, unfoliated.

the pay schedule in July.[179] To augment this number, the Council, in May 1649, instructed the militia commissioners of Essex that the regular soldiers in the garrison should, in this time of danger, be added to by eighty men from the county.[180] In January 1651, the fort was inspected and found capable of accommodating only twenty soldiers at any one time, while the size of a watch, including officers, was seventeen. The rest would have had to be accommodated outside the fort.[181] In 1655, the foot in the garrison was reduced from forty-four to thirty-four men,[182] and it remained nominally at that level until the Restoration.[183] In the case of Mersea Island, the committee of officers appointed to review the garrisons reported in February 1649 that the fort could not be properly defended with less than eighty men,[184] but the establishment of May allocated only sixty to the garrison.[185] Even that number was too large for the fort itself, and the men had to be billeted on alehouses on the island. In July 1650, the governor requested from the Council special permission to quarter the men in private houses as well, something generally unacceptable in peacetime, since the alehouses on the island could not accommodate all of them.[186] The problem was resolved, as it was for Tilbury, by drawing

[179]P.R.O., E. 101/67/11B, membranes 103-103v.

[180]P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, pp. 300-1: 14 May 1651.

[181]P.R.O., S.P. 18/15, no. 14I: 27 Jan. 1651.

[182]P.R.O., S.P. 18/99, no. 17: 4 July 1655.

[183]P.R.O., S.P. 18/155, no. 92: 15 July 1657; B.L., Harleian MS 6844, fol. 188.

[184]Worcester College, Clarke MS 72.

[185]Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, unfoliated.

[186]P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, p. 5: 22 July 1650.

on militia reinforcements in time of danger. In August 1650, the Council ordered that a squadron of horse and fifty foot be drawn from the county militia and deployed on the island under the governor's command.[187] A month later, the number was reduced, perhaps for logistical considerations, to twelve horse and twenty-four foot.[188] The outbreak of the Norfolk insurrection made the situation yet more urgent, and further county forces were ordered to be added to the garrison. A total of thirteen horse and forty foot joined the forces on the island during the time of crisis.[189] The twenty-four foot which had initially reinforced the garrison were put onto the regular establishment at the Council's request at the end of January 1651 for three months, while the horse remained on the county's charge for the same period.[190] The size of the garrison remained at the same level as in 1649 until after Worcester,[191] but by the time the garrison was disbanded in 1655, only twenty-six of the original sixty men were still on the garrison strength.[192]

The supply of arms, ammunition and equipment to the foot of the garrisons was the responsibility of the Ordnance Officers, as was the case with ordnance itself. Stores were sent to the garrisons from the

[187]P.R.O., S.P. 25/9, p. 48: 28 Aug. 1650.

[188]P.R.O., S.P. 25/10, p. 66: 30 Sept. 1650.

[189]P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 21: 1 Dec. 1650.

[190]P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, pp. 71-2: 25 Jan. 1651.

[191]C.J., VII, 16.

[192]P.R.O., S.P. 18/100, no. 56: 16 Aug. 1655.

Tower, but could also be supplied by private contractors on behalf of the Ordnance Officers.

The foot in the garrisons initially came equipped with their own arms and they made use of whatever ammunition they found there. But by 1649, this was clearly inadequate and the Ordnance Officers began to resupply them with the more efficient snaphance muskets in preference to the older matchlocks, as well as with pikes. Walton's regiment at Lynn, Ely and Crowland was entirely re-armed in May 1649 with five hundred muskets and two hundred pikes.[193] Roger Carlisle, the army contractor, reported later that he had collected three hundred muskets which had been replaced.[194] The company of Berkstead's regiment at Harwich and probably those at Yarmouth as well was re-armed in October 1649.[195] Carlisle collected one hundred and thirty two muskets from the disbanded militia companies at Harwich, which had been delivered into the keeping of Captain Young, the commander of Berkstead's company at Harwich.[196] On the departure of Berkstead's regiment, further muskets and pikes were ordered to arm the two companies added to Walton's regiment in order to provide garrisons for Harwich and Yarmouth.[197] At the end of the year,

[193]P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 296, 403-4: 12 May and 22 June 1649; S.P. 25/94, p. 164: 12 May 1649; B.L., Addit. MS 35332, fol. 137.

[194]P.R.O., S.P. 18/72, nos. 78 and 79: June (?) 1654.

[195]B.L., Addit. MS 35332, fol. 147.

[196]P.R.O., S.P. 18/11, no. 39: 1 Oct. 1650; S.P., 18/72, nos. 74, 78 and 79: June 1654.

[197]P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 370, 376: 21 and 20 May 1650; B.L., Addit. MS 35332, fols. 166v, 160.

the Council ordered that two hundred matchlock muskets be provided for Walton's garrisons,[198] probably to make up for the arms, almost entirely snaphance muskets, which Walton had used to fit out the dragoons employed to put down the Norfolk insurrection. In the spring of the following year, ten barrels of powder with match and lead were sent to Yarmouth for the foot there.[199] Goffe's regiment of foot was to have brought its own arms with it when it garrisoned Yarmouth at the end of 1652. At the end of 1652, Goffe requested that two hundred of his matchlock muskets be replaced by snaphance ones.[200] Constable's, later Biscoe's, regiment similarly brought its own arms with it, although in March 1658, Biscoe requested that the arms for the equivalent of three companies which had been sent to Flanders should be replaced.[201]

In the case of the independently-standing forts, the garrison at Landguard was supplied with fifty matchlock and ten snaphance muskets in late 1648,[202] and the company there was fully armed with muskets by the delivery of thirty matchlock and twenty snaphance muskets the following spring.[203] Roger Carlisle collected twenty old muskets from

[198]P.R.O., S.P. 25/15, p. 25: 19 Dec. 1650.

[199]P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 118, 165: 18 and 25 Mar. 1651; S.P. 18/15, no. 40: 25 Mar. 1651.

[200]P.R.O., S.P. 25/68, p. 105: 16 Dec. 1652.

[201]P.R.O., S.P. 18/183, p. 3: 5 Oct. 1658; P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, p. 69: 5 Oct. 1658.

[202]Leslie, Landguard Fort, pp. 92-3; C.J., VI, 75; B.L., Addit. MS, 35332, fols. 111-12.

[203]P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 206, 398, 401: 15 Apr. and 25 May 1650; S.P. 18/11, no. 104: 30 July 1650.

the garrison.[204] It is not known what became of the arms of the soldiers who were disbanded in 1656, but the soldiers of Captain Gifford's company probably took their arms with them when they were allocated to Colonel Salmon's regiment that year. The soldiers of Major Cadwell's company which replaced them probably came equipped with their own arms. Little is known about the foot arms at Mersea Island, except that in February 1652, four hundred-weight of musket bullets together with powder and match was delivered to the foot there,[205] which indicates that they were already fully armed. It is not known what became of the arms of the foot there when the garrison was disbanded in 1655. The re-arming of the garrison at Tilbury was delayed for some time and the equipment of the foot fell into some neglect. In early 1651, the new governor there requested twenty-five swords and belts and twenty snaphance muskets and bandoleers along with powder, match and small shot.[206] Further supplies of match and shot were delivered in June 1652.[207] There were, in addition, over a hundred snaphance muskets kept at Tilbury, belonging to the Earl of Warwick, which, in 1658, were returned to the Earl.[208] The garrison was once again completely re-armed with muskets and swords in July 1659.[209]

[204]P.R.O., S.P. 18/72, nos. 78 and 79: June (?) 1654.

[205]P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, p. 364: 19 Feb. 1652.

[206]P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 47: 17 Jan. 1651; S.P., 25/17, p. 65: 11 Feb. 1651.

[207]P.R.O., S.P. 18/28, no. 15: 7 June 1651.

[208]P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, p. 549: 6 Apr. 1658.

[209]Bodleian, Rawlinson C 179, pp. 149-50: 7 July 1659.

2.4 Garrison Governors

2.4.1 The place of garrison governors in the structure of defence

Garrison governors played a key role in coordinating the defence and security of the region. Not only were they responsible for the strategic key-points entrusted to their care, with their fortifications, ordnance and garrisons; but they were also the Council's particular agents in the areas in which their garrisons were situated. They had to maintain good relations with the corporations and the gentry of the surrounding counties in order to ensure that support was obtained both for the forces under their own command, and also for the campaigns by land and sea into which Interregnum governments were drawn. Moreover, their position made them especially suited to act on the Council's behalf in supervising the security of the region as a whole.

2.4.2 The appointment of garrison governors

Governors held their commission from the Lord General and fell within the army command structure. On the other hand, they were appointed by the Council of State, and these appointments were generally submitted for Parliament's approval. It was usually the commanders of the units garrisoned in the towns who were appointed as governors of the place

concerned.

Valentine Walton, M.P. for Huntingdonshire, and colonel of one of the Eastern Association regiments of foot, was appointed governor of Lynn in 1643. Lynn had been secured by the Earl of Manchester, the commander of the Eastern Association, in late September 1643, after the town had declared for the King the previous month.[1] Walton continued in charge of the town up until 1653, but as one who disapproved strongly of the Lord General's ejection of the Rump Parliament in April of that year, he probably retired from state service at that point.[2] When the town was garrisoned by Sir William Constable's regiment in the spring of 1655, John Biscoe, lieutenant-colonel of the regiment, acted as governor of the town. Biscoe, who became colonel on Constable's death, remained in charge of Lynn until August 1659, when he left the Eastern Counties with some of his regiment to fight the rising by Sir George Booth.[3]

The first governor of Yarmouth was Col. John Berkstead whose regiment garrisoned the town in September 1648.[4] In April 1650, Berkstead's regiment was drawn away to guard Parliament, and Colonel Walton took on

[1] D.N.B.; H.M.C., Eleventh Report, appendix III, pp. 181-2; Holmes, Eastern Association, p. 95; Hillen, King's Lynn, pp. 353-61.

[2] The chamberlain's accounts for Michaelmas 1652-Michaelmas 1653 record that he paid the town £15 for one and a half years rent for 'the Fryers', which may indicate that he ceased his governorship of the town at Christmas 1652 (N.N.R.O., KL/C39/103).

[3] Bodleian, Dep. C 159, fols. 232, 236.

[4] D.N.B.; P.R.O., E. 101/67/11B, membrane 25.

responsibility for Yarmouth in addition to Lynn. The garrison was put under the command of Major Blake, one of Walton's officers.[5] Blake left the town in August 1651 to be commander of the special force drawn from Walton's regiment to fight against the Scots, and one of his officers, Captain Stanes, was left in charge of the affairs of the garrison.[6] In late 1652, when William Goffe's regiment took over the garrison, Goffe was accordingly appointed governor of the town.[7] Goffe's regiment was replaced as the garrison of the town by companies of Colonel Biscoe's regiment, and Goffe was succeeded as governor by Biscoe's lieutenant-colonel, William Styles.[8] Styles probably left the town in early August when Biscoe's regiment was drawn away against the Booth uprising,[9] and so the charge of the town's security was left solely to William Burton, the commander of the town militia. Styles returned to Yarmouth after the Booth uprising,[10] but probably left again when the remainder of the regiment was sent against the Rumpers at Portsmouth in December. After the Restoration Col. Thomas Blague, formerly the Royalist governor of Wallingford during the Civil War, and one of the prime-movers in Royalist designs in the Eastern Counties during the Interregnum, was appointed governor of the fort at Yarmouth on 12 July

[5] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 306: 4 May 1650.

[6] P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 45: 19 Aug. 1651.

[7] P.R.O., S.P. 25/32, p. 71: 10 Sept. 1652.

[8] N.N.R.O., Y/C/19/7, fol. 304; Bodleian, Rawlinson C 179, pp. 168, 213, 261: 12 and 26 July, 1 Aug. 1651; P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 38: 26 July 1659.

[9] Firth and Davies, Regimental History, p. 402.

[10] He was signatory to a remonstrance in November against the seizure of political power by the arm grandees in October, and was described there as being 'at Yarmouth' (P.R.O., S.P. 18/205, no. 21, p. 7).

1660.[11]

At the time of the Royalist uprisings in the spring of 1648, the governorship of the fort at Landguard was still, at least nominally, in the hands of the Earl of Holland, himself a leader of that uprising, who was captured at St Neots in the July.[12] Probably during the course of the siege of Colchester, he was replaced by Thomas Ireton, formerly of Colonel Rich's regiment of horse.[13] This appointment was confirmed during the review of garrisons on 15 February 1649 by the committee of officers whom the Lord General had appointed for the purpose.[14] On Ireton's death in June 1652, Capt. Benjamin Gifford was appointed governor in his place.[15] At the end of 1656, Gifford was replaced by Capt. Matthew Cadwell of Colonel Biscoe's regiment when Gifford's company was allocated to Colonel Salmon's regiment for service in Flanders.[16] Cadwell served until July 1659 when the Rump gave the governorship to Humphrey Brewster, the militia officer who had since 1650 been in charge of securing the Suffolk coast.[17] In February 1660, John Rayner was appointed captain of the garrison at the fort.[18] After

[11] Worcester College, Clarke MS 53, 'Y'.

[12] Leslie, Landguard Fort, p. 92; B.L. Addit. MS 33271, fol. 13.

[13] Leslie, Landguard Fort, pp. 92-3.

[14] Worcester College, Clarke MS 72.

[15] S.P. 25/29, p. 5: 15 June 1652; S.P. 25/34, p. 12: 11 Oct. 1652; S.P. 18/24, no. 41: 14 June 1652; S.P. 18/41, no. 165: 11 Oct. 1653; Leslie, Landguard Fort, p. 93.

[16] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, pp. 519, 547: 25 Nov. and 3 Dec. 1656.

[17] P.R.O., S.P. 25/127, pp. 19, 32: 20 and 27 June 1659; S.P. 25/128, pp. 9, 14, 18: 20 June 1659; S.P. 28/118, fol. 481; C.J. 704; Leslie, Landguard Fort, p. 94.

[18] Worcester College, Clarke MS 53, 'L'.

the Restoration, despite an attempt by the Ipswich corporation to persuade the Lord General to appoint either Viscount Hereford or Sir Henry Felton, both prominent Suffolk gentlemen, as governor of the fort,[19] the governorship reverted to Charles, fourth Earl of Warwick, nephew of the Earl of Holland, and son of the second Earl of Warwick who had built the fort in 1626.[20] John Rayner remained in command of the garrison, but as lieutenant to Warwick who was captain.[21] On 3 July 1660, the command of the fort was given to Col. Thomas Blague, the newly appointed governor of the fort at Great Yarmouth,[22] although, despite Blague's protests, the governorship itself remained in Warwick's hands.[23] Blague died in November that year,[24] and was succeeded by Col. Henry Farr.[25]

From July 1648, the governor of Harwich was Captain Wheeler, the commander of a company of Colonel Ewer's regiment stationed in the town. When Wheeler left the town in April 1649, he was replaced by Capt.

[19] Alan Everitt, (ed.). Suffolk and the Great Rebellion (Ipswich, 1961), p. 126.

[20] Leslie, Landguard Fort, pp. 94-5; Worcester College, Clarke MS 53 'L'.

[21] Worcester College, Clarke MS 53.

[22] Worcester College, Clarke MS 53, 'L'.

[23] Worcester College, Clarke MS 53, 'L': S.P. 29/25, no. 81: petition of Thomas Blagge, Esq.; Leslie, Landguard Fort, pp. 33-4.

[24] Leslie, Landguard Fort, p. 32.

[25] P.R.O., A.O. 1/2519, where Farr is described as the Earl's deputy for the period 22 April to 21 November 1662. Francis Widdrington was commissioned to the fort, although it is not clear in what capacity, on 3 October 1662 (Worcester College Clarke MS 53, 'L'). Henry Farr was eventually appointed to the governorship in his own right in November 1664 (P.R.O., W.O. 25/1, pp. 15-16, 43-4; Leslie, Landguard Fort, pp. 95-6).

Arthur Young of Berkstead's regiment.[26] Young fell under the command of his colonel, who was also governor of Yarmouth, but he was regarded nevertheless as a governor in his own right, and under the establishment of 7 May 1649, received the salary for the governorship over and above his captain's pay.[27] Young was succeeded by Capt. Robert Scrope of Walton's regiment, who was commissioned as governor in April 1650.[28] Thus Harwich was brought under the overall command of the governor of Lynn. Scrope's company left Harwich in August 1651 as part of the special force sent against the Scots under the command of Major Blake, and the charge of Harwich was given to the officers of the detached companies of Lambert's regiment stationed there. The governorship of Harwich as such seems to have lapsed, and the town came under the supervision of the governor of Landguard fort in conjunction with the mayor and corporation of the town.[29]

When the committee of officers reviewed the garrisons in early 1649, the fort on Mersea Island had been put under the general jurisdiction of the governor of Tilbury fort.[30] However, probably during the winter of 1648-9, Capt. William Burrell had been appointed governor of the fort

[26] P.R.O., S.P. 18/11, no. 39: 1 Oct. 1650; Aylmer, State's Servants, p. 155.

[27] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, unfoliated.

[28] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67 fol. 31; S.P. 25/64, p. 306: 4 May 1650; P.R.O., S.P. 18/11, no. 39: 1 Oct. 1650.

[29] P.R.O., S.P. 18/24, no. 41: 14 June 1652; Bodleian Rawlinson MS A. 328, fol. 48, a warrant, 24 May 1654, addressed to the governor and mayor of Harwich, but since there was no garrison at Harwich by then it must refer to the governor of Landguard fort.

[30] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 62.

and island,[31] and in March 1649 a commission was issued to Burrell to be governor of the fort and captain of the soldiers there.[32] The reinforcements sent to the island in the wake of the Norfolk insurrection gave added weight and independence to Burrell's position, and his salary was increased shortly afterwards.[33] He remained at his charge until mid-1655 when the fort on the island was demolished and the garrison removed.[34]

The governor of Tilbury was initially Col. James Temple, recruiter M.P. for Bramber.[35] The governorship of the fort at Tilbury seems to have fallen at least in some respects under the jurisdiction of the Admiralty.[36] In May 1650 the Admiralty Committee ordered Temple to appear before it to answer for the misdemeanours of some of his officers.[37] As a Member of Parliament, he had frequently to be absent from his charge, to the detriment, as the Committee for Martial Affairs considered, of the security of the fort. In August 1650, the Committee for Martial Affairs obtained Temple's concurrence 'that the safety and good of the publique should be preferred before his private interest', and accordingly, Temple agreed to lay down the governorship despite the fact that it had been given him by order of Parliament and by letters

[31] Worcester College, Clarke MS 72.

[32] Worcester College, Clarke MS 67, fol. 94.

[33] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 72: 25 Jan. 1651.

[34] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 340: 20 Oct. 1655; S.P. 18/101, no. 59: 20 Oct. 1655.

[35] Underdown, Pride's Purge, p. 387; Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort', pp. 108, 110.

[36] Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort', p. 111.

[37] P.R.O., S.P. 25/123, p. 345: 21 May 1650.

patent. The Committee recommended that Temple be replaced but that until Temple could be otherwise compensated, he be allowed ten shillings of the fourteen shillings a day previously allowed him, and that the remainder be increased to ten shillings and paid to his successor.[38] Temple was replaced by Col. George Crompton whose appointment was approved by order of Parliament, and the Council accordingly requested the Lord General to issue a commission for him as captain and governor of Tilbury[39] and ordered Temple to hand over his charge.[40] Crompton served as governor for the rest of the decade. In August 1659, he and his lieutenant were confirmed in their commands by the Rump's Committee of Safety,[41] and he continued in service there until July 1660, when he was replaced by William Leonard as captain of both Tilbury and Gravesend.[42]

[38] P.R.O., S.P. 25/10, p. 41: 21 Sept. 1650.

[39] P.R.O., S.P. 25/11, p. 8: 5 Oct. 1650.

[40] P.R.O., S.P. 25/11, p. 54: 16 Oct. 1650; S.P. 25/12 p. 6: 26 Oct. 1650. After the Restoration, to plead mitigation of his complicity in the regicide, Temple alleged that he had lost the governorship because of his dealings with Royalist agents. (H.M.C., Seventh Report, appendix I, p. 156; D.N.B.).

[41] P.R.O., S.P. 25/127, p. 78: 5 Aug. 1659.

[42] C.S.P.D. '60-1, p. 118; Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort' p. 112.

2.4.3 Garrison governors and the corporations

The governors of Lynn and Yarmouth were both in a position substantially to influence borough affairs. On the whole, however, they appear to have refrained from direct involvement in the corporations' internal politics, and where they did it was on orders from the Council rather than on their own initiative. The governor of Landguard fort had little to do with the internal politics of the Harwich corporation, and the garrisons at Mersea Island and Tilbury even less with those of Colchester and Gravesend respectively.

Once Lynn was securely in Parliament's hands after 1643, Colonel Walton appears to have avoided any direct involvement in the politics of the corporation.[43] He was leased a plot of land by the corporation for which he scrupulously paid rent up to the time of his departure.[44] During the Protectorate, the governors did intervene in corporation affairs at the Council's direction. In mid-1656, Colonel Biscoe supervised a re-modelling of the Lynn corporation.[45] Biscoe did not stand for election to Parliament in 1656, although the corporation did return two military men to Parliament that year.[46] There is no

[43] Hillen, *King's Lynn*, pp. 362-3.

[44] N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fol. 262v; KL/C39/103, Mich. 1652-Mich. 1653.

[45] P.R.O., S.P./77, pp. 252-3: 15 July 1656; Bodleian, Rawlinson A 28, fol. 726-7.

[46] Pinckney, 'Cromwellian Parliament', pp. 185-6; Butterfield, 'East Anglia', p. 244.

evidence of his further involvement in borough affairs.

At Yarmouth, Colonel Berkstead proceeded very cautiously with regard to town affairs. In July 1649, he promised the corporation that he would 'in no way interfere with the civil government [there]'.^[47] Berkstead does not appear to have been involved in the drastic purge of the corporation which the Indemnity Committee carried out the following month;^[48] and before he left, the town gave him and Colonels Deane and Popham, the naval officers responsible for the East Coast, presents for their service to the town, as they did to Berkstead's successor, Colonel Walton, who was governor of the town through his deputy, Major Blake.^[49] Blake's involvement in corporation affairs was as minimal as Berkstead's. However, Blake's eventual successor, Col. William Goffe, acquired considerable influence in the borough, and was elected burgess of the town to the Parliament of 1654. He was returned with Thomas Dunn, an alderman of the town and one of the leading Independant, Maj. William Burton,'s political allies. The return was disputed by Burton's opponents in the town, but Goffe himself was evidently considered to be above borough factions, and the rival return included Goffe together with Major-General Disbrowe.^[50] As a token of their esteem, in January 1655 the corporation presented Goffe with a piece of plate engraved with the

[47] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 147.

[48] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, 148v-151.

[49] N.N.R.O., Y/C27/2, Mich. 1649-Mich 1650; Y/C49/11, Mich. 1649-Mich. 1650.

[50] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/17, fols. 246v-247v; Butterfield, 'East Anglia', p. 244; Pinckney, 'Cromwellian Parliament', pp. 185-6.

town's arms.[51] In April 1655, Goffe acted in response to a petition by Isaac Preston, William Burton and other leading members of the Corporation.[52] Goffe's successor, Lieut.-Col. William Styles, like his predecessors, maintained a careful relationship with the corporation, and when a dispute broke out between Captain White, an officer of the navy, and George England, one of the bailiffs of the town and a leading member of the Presbyterian group in the borough, he, Colonel Biscoe and Col. Humphrey Brewster of the Suffolk militia, together with Burton and other leading members of the corporation, were ordered by the Council to mediate in the dispute.[53] Styles took a decided stance in favour of the restored Rump Parliament of 1659, and in November that year publicly disassociated himself from the seizure of political power by the army grandees which had taken place that October.[54]

[51] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/17, fol. 254.

[52] P.R.O., S.P. 25/75, p. 753: 29 Mar. 1655; S.P. 25/54, p. 109: 29 Mar. 1655 (which has in margin 'll Col. Goffe 5 Ap.'). The petition probably concerned the remittance of customs dues for the purposes of poor relief. According to an order of 4 April 1655, £210 was remitted to the corporation. In May, this sum was amended to £310 (P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 61: 8 May 1655).

[53] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 303v, 304; P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, pp. 460, 476: 18 Feb. and 2 Mar. 1658.

[54] P.R.O., S.P. 18/205, no. 21: 11 Nov. 1659.

2.4.4 Supply of provisions to armies abroad

Governors of the garrisons supervised the logistical support of the English armies on campaign. Unlike the forces quartered in England, the armies in Scotland and Flanders were not able to buy provisions in the areas in which they were quartered, and the commissariat had to be provided from England. The Eastern Counties gave logistic support to both armies, against funds allocated to those armies, usually out of the assessment. The purchases were arranged by army agents who were either garrison commanders themselves, the local representatives of the Lord General, or army contractors. The money for the purchases was sometimes provided in advance by the Treasurers-at-War, but more often bills of exchange repayable by the Treasurers-at-War had to be used with money advanced by local customs and excise or by corporations.

The Eastern Counties played only a small part in the supply of the English army in Ireland during the campaign of 1649-1650. William Burton of Yarmouth obtained provisions on a small scale for the army there,[55] and three other merchants of Yarmouth, John Payne, Francis Appleby and Thomas Haring, undertook the transportation of these supplies.[56] English forces under Oliver Cromwell, the newly appointed Lord General, invaded Scotland in the summer of 1650.[57] To supply the army in

[55] P.R.O., S.P. 25/101, p. 152: 12 Mar. 1650.

[56] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 115: 23 Mar. 1650.

[57] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, I, 271;

Scotland, wheat, biscuit and cheese for the soldiers, as well as oats and hay for the horses were shipped via Newcastle to the forward supply depot at Leith near Edinburgh. In November 1650, Lieutenant-Colonel Underwood, deputy to Colonel Walton, governor of Lynn, arranged for the purchase and shipment of wheat and hay with money assigned to him by the Treasurers-at-War.[58] During the winter, Richard Cadwell, the Lord General's messenger, arranged for several shipments of hay and oats from Lynn to Scotland with money upon bills of exchange advanced variously from Nathaniel Maxey, the sub-commissioner for the excise at Lynn, and Joshua Green, the customs collector there.[59] Ships from Yarmouth brought hay to that port from London for the army in Scotland,[60] and during the winter, soldiers from Berkstead's regiment there awaiting embarkation for Scotland were employed to twist the hay to prepare it for shipment.[61] In the spring, Cadwell contracted for almost sixteen thousand pounds worth of provisions from Lynn for the army in Scotland

[58] Wheat and hay, £500: 21 Nov. 1650 (P.R.O., S.P. 18/14, no. 110; S.P. 25/13, pp. 43, 43-4; S.P. 25/100, p. 210); wheat, £500: 30 Dec. 1650 (S.P. 18/14, no. 167; S.P. 25/15, p. 75; S.P. 25/101, p. 52); wheat, £500: 27 Jan. 1651 (S.P. 18/19, no. 16; S.P. 25/16, p. 79; S.P. 25/101, p. 75); wheat, £786 19s., with the £1,500 paid in full satisfaction for one thousand quarters of wheat: 24 Feb. 1651 (S.P. 18/19, no. 76; S.P. 25/101, p. 124).

[59] Hay, on account, £140: 25 Nov. 1650 (P.R.O., S.P. 18/14, no. 112; S.P. 25/13, p. 57; S.P. 25/100, p. 212); hay, account ?, £90: 25 Nov. 1650 (S.P. 25/100, p. 213); hay, excise, £200: 9 Dec. 1650 (S.P. 18/14, no. 126; S.P. 25/14, pp. 59, 61; S.P. 25/101, p. 12); hay, excise, £200: 13 Dec. 1650 (S.P. 18/14, no. 158; S.P. 25/15, p. 42; S.P. 25/101, p. 45); oats, excise, £200: 7/8/6 Jan. 1650 (S.P., 18/19, no. 6; S.P. 25/16, p. 19; S.P. 25/101, p. 61); oats, excise, £200: 31 Jan. 1651 (S.P. 18/19, no. 18; S.P. 25/17, p. 15; S.P. 25/101, p. 77); oats, customs, £4005 (S.P. 18/19, no. 74; S.P. 25/65, p. 25; S.P. 25/101, p. 122); oats, customs, £140: 5 Mar. 1651 (S.P. 25/65, p. 64).

[60] P.R.O., S.P. 18/14, nos. 117-19: 30 Nov. 1650; S.P. 25/101, pp. 1-2: 30 Nov. 1650.

[61] P.R.O., S.P. 25/101, p. 46: 25 Dec. 1650.

on his own account from money advanced by the Treasurers-at-War, and for several thousand pounds further on money advanced to him by the customs and excise commissioners against repayment by the Treasurers-at-War.[62] Consignments of biscuit were shipped up to Leith from the Eastern Counties. Apart from biscuit shipped by Cadwell on his own account during the winter,[63] freight of biscuit from Lynn to Leith was contracted for during the summer by one Henry Aldrich.[64] Several vessels from Lynn were used for the freight of provisions.[65] Thomas Bendish, an alderman of Yarmouth and surveyor of customs, shipped almost four thousand hundred-weight of biscuit on his own account.[66] Bendish, together with Maj. William Burton, also fitted out a fleet of flatboats for the army in Scotland,[67] quite probably for the army's crossing of the Firth of Forth in July.[68] At Ipswich, Samuel Duncon, alderman of

[62] On account, £200: 10 Mar. 1651 (P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, p. 85; S.P. 25/101, p. 149); account, £80 13s. 6d. : 12 Mar. 1650 (S.P., 25/65, p. 111; S.P. 25/101, p. 158); account, £2000: 20 Mar. 1651 (S.P. 18/19, no. 140; S.P. 25/65, p. 137; S.P. 25/101, p. 166); account, £2000: 20 Mar. 1651 (S.P. 25/65, p. 138; S.P. 25/101, p. 167); customs, £2000: 20 Mar. 1651 (S.P. 25/65, p. 137; S.P. 25/101, p. 166; S.P. 46/102, fol. 181); customs, £300: 24 Mar. 1651 (S.P. 25/65, p. 157); account, £2000: 16 May 1651 (S.P. 25/101, p. 266); account, £207 18s. 11 3/4d., paid in full satisfaction for all provisions contracted for from 3 Oct. 1650 to 12 Aug. 1651, total £15503 1s. 7 1/2d.: 1 Oct. 1651 (S.P. 18/22, no. 41).

[63] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 14: 7 Jan. 1650; S.P. 25/101, p. 58: 7 Jan. 1651.

[64] P.R.O., S.P. 18/21, no. 81: 5 Aug. 1651.

[65] See, for example, P.R.O., S.P. 18/21, no. 30: 6 June 1651; S.P. 25/102, pp. 30-1: 6 June 1651.

[66] £900: 3 Dec. 1650 (S.P. 25/15, p. 75); £850: 7 Mar. 1650 (S.P. 25/65, p. 121; S.P. 25/101, p. 163); £850: 3 Apr. 1650 (S.P. 65, p. 214); £44 10s. 4d., in full satisfaction for 3000 hundred-weight of biscuits, in total £2600 (S.P. 25/102, p. 116). Over and above these shipments, there was a further 998 hundred-weight, £850: 18 Feb. 1651 (S.P. 18/19, no. 58; S.P. 25/65, p. 8; S.P. 25/101, p. 112).

[67] P.R.O., S.P., 25/102, p. 114: 28 July 1651.

[68] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, II, 26, 19.

the town, contracted to supply two and a half thousand hundred-weight of biscuit, of which he eventually provided just under half.[69] and a further shipload of forty tons was transported from Ipswich to Leith in July.[70] At Harwich, Thomas King, the navy victualler, supplied over two thousand hundred-weight on his own account.[71] Several hundred tons of Suffolk cheese and quantities of butter were shipped up to Scotland under contract by Denis Gauden, the army and navy victualler based at Ipswich, on his own account, and he kept up a regular supply well into 1652.[72] A large proportion of these supplies was probably shipped from

[69] £500: 2 Dec. 1650 (P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 28; S.P. 25/101, p. 6); £500: 15/17/15 Jan. 1651 (S.P. 18/19, no. 10; S.P. 25/16, p. 40; S.P. 25/101, p. 66; £500: 21 Jan. 1651 (S.P. 25/16, pp. 54, 56; S.P. 25/101, p. 68); £500: 18 Feb. 1651 (S.P. 25/65, p. 8; S.P. 25/101, p. 113); £246 8s. 8d., paid in full satisfaction for 1157 cwt and 16 lb. of biscuit, total £2000: 12 Apr. 1651 (S.P. 25/65, p. 261).

[70] P.R.O., S.P. 18/18, no. 71: 30 July 1650; S.P. 25/102, p. 118: 30 July 1650.

[71] £410 10s.: 30 Nov. 1650 (S.P. 18/14, no. 122; S.P. 25/13, p. 79; S.P. 25/101, p. 5); £410 10s.: 30 Dec. 1650 (S.P. 18/14, no. 166; S.P. 25/15, pp. 74, 74-5 [should read '30' not '3' Dec.]); £500: 27 Feb. 1651 (S.P. 18/19, no. 82; S.P. 25/65, p. 40; S.P. 25/101, p. 129); £41 8s. 2d., paid in full for 2095 cwt, 2 1/4 gt wt and 16 lb of biscuit except for 30 bags refused, total £1925: 21 May 1651 (S.P. 25/101, p. 260).

[72] 100 tons Suffolk cheese, £2800: 18 Oct. 1650 (P.R.O., S.P. 46/102, fol. 128); 120 tons Suffolk cheese, installment, £1440: 2 Dec. 1650 (S.P. 25/14, p. 37; S.P. 25/101, p. 8); 43 tons, 16 cwt, 3 qrs. Suffolk cheese: 5/6 Dec. 1650 (S.P. 18/14, no. 124; S.P. 25/14, p. 53; S.P. 25/101, p. 10; E. 101/67/11B membrane 13v); 315 tons 17 cwt 2 lb Suffolk cheese, installment, £3243 16s. 6d.: 31 Jan. 1651 (S.P. 25/17, p. 33; S.P. 25/101, p. 77), and final installment: 4 Feb. 1651 (S.P. 46/102, fol. 144); 33 firkins butter, and 232 cwt, 1 lb Suffolk cheese, £681 4s. 2 1/4d.: 7 Mar. 1651 (S.P. 18/19, no. 135; S.P. 25/65, p. 121; S.P. 25/101, p. 162); 100 tons Cheshire cheese and 100 tons Suffolk cheese, installment, £1600: 21 Apr. 1651 (S.P. 25/65, p. 296; S.P. 101/, p. 212), and final installment, £1600 on sight and £1200 on 14 July: 19 June 1651 (S.P. 25/102, p. 24); 60 tons Suffolk cheese, 400 firkins butter, warrant to pass customs, 11 May 1652 (S.P. 25/67, pp. 33, 37); 46 tons, 13 cwt 1 qr 24 lb, Suffolk cheese, £1423 10s.: 22 May 1651 (S.P. 25/101, p. 277). Also for 500 tons 737 cwt 9 qrs 5 lb of Suffolk cheese and 700 firkins butter, lost at sea, £1000: 21 May 1652 (S.P. 25/67, p. 102; S.P. 25/103, p. 156), and £707 18s. 3 1/4d.: 7 June 1652 (S.P. 18/31, no. 110; S.P. 25/67, p. 220; S.P. 25/103, p. 164; E. 101/67/11b, membrane 138v).

Ipswich itself, although Gauden also made use of Yarmouth and the port of London.[73] The Flanders campaign was on a far smaller scale than the Scottish one, and it was not until after the capture of Mardike by the Anglo-French forces at the end of 1657, that the Eastern Counties were called upon to provide logistical support for the English forces in Flanders. In September, through the Admiralty Commissioners, the Council requested Maj. William Burton of Yarmouth and John Brandling of Ipswich to provide victuals and fodder for the garrison at Mardike, together with three hundred cauldrons of coal.[74] In December the Council, again through the the Admiralty Commissioners, addressed a further request to Burton at Yarmouth to contract for sixty more cauldrons of coal to be sent to Mardike, against a bill of exchange repayable from the Council's contingency fund.[75] Prior to receiving this request, Burton, through his own agent at Mardike, had received a similar request from Sir John Reynolds, the governor of Mardike, and had already delivered the coals, together with further provisions.[76] The Council re-imbursed Burton for some of his outlay,[77] but Burton, together with other contractors to the garrison at Mardike, was required to petition the Council for the remainder.[78] In response to a further Council order the following May, Burton sent across one hundred and seventy-seven cauldrons of coal and

[73] P.R.O., S.P. 25/67, p. 33: 10 May 1652.

[74] P.R.O., S.P. 18/156, no. 97: 22 Sept. 1657; S.P. 25/78, pp. 156, 162: 22 Sept. 1657.

[75] P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, pp. 366, 844: 24 Dec. 1657.

[76] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A 56, fol. 343.

[77] P.R.O., S.P. 25/106, p. 57: 30 Jan. 1658.

[78] P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, p. 422: 9 Feb. 1658.

other provisions to Mardike,[79] for which he was duly re-imbursed by Privy Seal warrant out of the Receipt of the Exchequer.[80] Other contractors from the Eastern Counties were also engaged in the supply of Mardike. At the end of 1658, one John Dove of Yarmouth, and Robert Grassingham, master shipwright at Harwich, both petitioned the Council for re-inbursement of sums which they had disbursed for the supply of that garrison.[81]

2.4.5 Garrison governors and the navy

Garrison governors assisted the navy indirectly by ensuring that the naval bases near their garrisons were secure, and directly by supervising impressment, the maintenance of discipline, the victualling of the fleet and the control of the movement of ships. The most direct example of the last was at the outbreak of the Dutch War, when, on 29 May 1652, the Council ordered garrison governors, together with the County vice-admirals and officers of ships, to enforce a twenty-one-day

[79] P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, p. 619: 18 May 1658; P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/31, p. 28: 8 Sept. 1658.

[80] P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, pp. 28, 285: 8 Sept. 1658, 6 Jan. 1659. Burton had run into difficulties with the customs officers at Yarmouth when the coals were unloaded there en route for Mardike, and a demand was made of him that he pay the customs due. Since the custom of coal was farmed out to Martin Noell, the Council was only able to grant Burton retrospective exemption for customs once it had defalked the sum due from Noell's farm rent (P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, pp. 143, 203-4, 294: 16 Nov. and 19 Dec. 1658, 12 Jan. 1659).

[81] P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, p. 204: 9 Dec. 1658; S.P. 18/200, no. 26: 8 June 1659.

embargo on the movement of merchant ships.[82] On 17 September 1652, the governors of garrisons, together with the mayors of corporations, were ordered by the Council to see that the Act recalling all seamen in foreign service was published in their localities.[83]

At Yarmouth, initially the site of the chief naval depot in the region, the close co-operation of the garrison governor and the local naval officials helped to ensure that the naval operations based in the region were not hindered by disorder ashore. Colonel Berkstead assisted the navy in keeping order among its sailors.[84] In August 1649, he helped Navy Commissioners Holland and Thompson secure the mutineers on the Tiger frigate, which had put in at Yarmouth.[85] Colonel Goffe, Berkstead's successor at Yarmouth, also assisted with the support of naval operations. In September 1652 he assisted with the supply of funds for the fleet.[86] From 1653, naval affairs at Yarmouth became the responsibility of Maj. William Burton, the Admiralty Commissioner based at Yarmouth and the commander of the town militia, who supervised the naval operations at Yarmouth up to the Restoration.[87] In June 1659, he ensured that communications between the Council and the fleet under Colonel Montagu in the Sound were maintained.[88]

[82] P.R.O., S.P. 25/67, p. 169: 29 May 1652.

[83] P.R.O., S.P. 25/33, p. 4: 17 Sept. 1652.

[84] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, p. 230: 30 Apr. 1649.

[85] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, p. 605: 8 Aug. 1649.

[86] P.R.O., S.P. 25/32, p. 71: 10 Sept. 1652.

[87] C.S.P.D., passim.

[88] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 69: 13 June 1659.

The naval officials at the complex formed by Ipswich and Harwich at the confluence of the Orwell and the Stour, like those at Yarmouth, required their bases of operations to be secured. In March 1650, it was reported to the Council that the company of the Hart frigate had cut the cable while the ship had been docked at Harwich and its officers were ashore,[89] but although the provost marshalls were ordered to assist the proceedings against the mutineers under martial law, it does not appear that the garrison at Harwich was itself involved.[90] During the Dutch War, Capt. Benjamin Gifford assisted in maintaining discipline among the sailors based at Harwich. With the arrival in Harwich of Maj. Nehemiah Bourne, the Navy Commissioner, in 1653, Gifford's assistance became still more important to the navy, and, at the beginning of October, Bourne obtained an order to Gifford, through the Admiralty Commissioners, to supply him with soldiers as the occasion should require, to prevent disorders among the sailors on shore in the town.[91] During the course of the war three naval mutineers were imprisoned at the fort.[92] In November 1653, the Ordnance Committee was ordered by the Council to examine the feasibility of using the fort as a watering depot for the fleet.[93] The Admiralty's jurisdiction was, however, unclear, and when absconding watermen were captured by naval officers in Harwich in 1657, the town J.P.s refused to allow them to be

[89] P.R.O., S.P. 25/95, p. 24: 2 Mar. 1650; S.P. 25/64, p. 59: 4 Mar. 1650.

[90] P.R.O., S.P. 25/95, p. 33: 12 Mar. 1650; S.P. 25/64, p. 84: 9 Mar. 1650.

[91] P.R.O., S.P. 18/41, no. 4: 2 Oct. 1653.

[92] P.R.O., S.P. 18/41, no. 165: 2 Nov. 1653.

[93] P.R.O., S.P. 25/72, p. 90: 21 Nov. 1653.

taken up to London, and they were left in the custody of Lieutenant Jones, second-in-command to the then governor of Landguard fort, Major Cadwell.[94] In August 1659, the J.P.s refused to proceed once again at Bourne's request against a number of 'the baser sort' who had declared for Charles II. Bourne made use of the Admiralty's authority to have two or three of those responsible for the disturbance seized by the governor of Landguard with a view, possibly, to their examination by the Council.[95]

The governors of Tilbury assisted the naval authorities in the control of ships in the Thames. In February 1650, Colonel Temple was ordered to detain a French vessel at Gravesend by the Council.[96] In October 1651, Colonel Crompton, Temple's successor, was instructed to investigate a case of illegal sale of gunpowder from a man-of-war at Tilbury.[97] On 18 May 1652, with the outbreak of hostilities with the Dutch, the Council ordered that no ships be brought, without permission, up the Thames beyond Tilbury Hope, where the fort at Tilbury was situated;[98] and the governor of Tilbury supervised the enforcement of these orders by the customs officers at Gravesend together with the general twenty-one-day embargo on the movement of merchant ships ordered

[94] P.R.O., S.P. 18/156, no. 40: 18 Aug. 1657.

[95] P.R.P., S.P. 18/204, no. 10: 18 Aug. 1659.

[96] P.R.O., S.P. 25/123, p. 248: 28 Feb. 1650.

[97] P.R.O., S.P. 25/23, p. 69: 28 Oct. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 590: 28 Oct. 1651.

[98] P.R.O., S.P. 25/67, p. 72: 18 May 1652.

by the Council on 29 May.[99] At the end of December, Crompton was ordered to enforce another embargo for a fortnight on all vessels passing out.[100] Crompton was not, however, called upon to assist with impressment, and when, in April 1653, several mariners were reported to be hiding in the Rocheford hundred of Essex to escape the press, it was Colonel Berkstead, the Lieutenant of the Tower, whom the Council ordered to track them down.[101] In August 1653, Crompton assisted in the requisitioning of vessels for the victualling of the fleet.[102]

2.4.6 Garrison governors and the maintenance of security

Garrison governors were the army's chief agents for the security of each region. The relative permanence of their postings enabled them to build up a knowledge of the area in which they were stationed and develop working relationships with the local corporations and county J.P.s, and more especially with the militia commissioners of each county, so that not only could they be employed as the Lord General's executives in the area but also as his and the Council's advisors and intermediaries. The activities of governors were especially prominent under the Commonwealth during the period leading up to the battle of Worcester. In April 1649, the Council issued instructions to the governors to watch and control

[99] P.R.O., S.P. 25/67, p. 173: 31 May 1652.

[100] P.R.O., S.P. 25/68, p. 173: 30 Dec. 1652.

[101] P.R.O., S.P. 25/41, p. 65: 7 April 1651.

[102] P.R.O., S.P. 25/70, p. 237: 17 Aug. 1653.

the meetings and movements of all those suspected of disaffection towards the newly established Commonwealth, and to assist the sheriffs of the counties in the preservation of public order;[103] and during the Leveller crisis of September that year governors were ordered to send certified lists of those at seditious meetings.[104] Later, governors were entrusted with other measures against opponents of the regime, notably in November 1650, with the rustication of all ministers who refused to take the Engagement.[105] With the renewed danger in March 1651 of Royalist designs in support of a projected Scottish invasion, garrison governors were instructed to return to their posts and not to leave them except with express permission from Parliament, the Council of State, or the Lord General.[106] In July 1651, the governors were given a brief to keep watch on the regions around their garrisons and to take whatever measures they deemed necessary to frustrate enemy designs.[107] The defeat of the Scottish army at Worcester largely removed the threat to the security of the country, although in July 1654, after the discovery of the Gerard plot, the governors and corporation officials were ordered to maintain a close watch on the coast, especially on isolated creeks and inlets where conspirators might attempt to land or leave the country. Warrants were issued to search

[103]P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, p. 130: 31 Mar. 1649; S.P. 25/94, p. 69: 3 Apr. 1649.

[104]P.R.O., S.P. 25/94, pp. 450-1: 19 Sept. 1649.

[105]C.J., VI, 492; P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, p. 84: 10 Mar. 1651.

[106]P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, p. 84: 10 Mar. 1651.

[107]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 269: 1 July 1651.

ships and detain suspects.[108] Garrison governors were largely eclipsed during the crisis years of 1655 and 1656 by the major-generals, but on the death of the old Protector in September 1658 it was the garrison governors whom the Council called upon to maintain vigilance and to co-ordinate security arrangements.[109] The influence of governors was revived somewhat under the restored Rump, and at the end of July, the Council ordered the governors to seize all dangerous Royalists in anticipation of the rising by Sir George Booth in Cheshire.[110] After the Restoration, garrison governors played a secondary role to the restored lords lieutenant in the maintenance of local security.

From the time of his appointment as governor of Lynn in 1643, Colonel Walton had been responsible for the security of Lynn and the surrounding fenlands.[111] After Pride's Purge, as a member of the Council of State, Walton was involved in the direction of national affairs, and he supervised security within Norfolk and Suffolk. In February 1650, he was instructed by the Council of State to take precautions against a Royalist attempt at a rising.[112] The governor was instructed also to investigate the business of one of the shipmasters in conjunction with the mayor and corporation of the town.[113] In May, Colonel Walton was

[108]P.R.O., S.P. 25/75, pp. 455-6: 4 July 1654.

[109]P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, pp. 1, 2, 6: 3 Sept. 1658.

[110]P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 55: 30 July 1659; Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 240: 29 July 1659.

[111]P.R.O., S.P. 21/18 p. 156: 24 June 1644; S.P. 21/19, p. 243: 28 Feb. 1645.

[112]P.R.O., S.P. 25/95, p. 1: 18 Feb. 1650.

[113]P.R.O., S.P. 25/95, p. 2: 18 Feb. 1650.

ordered to seize and search one Dr Martin, staying at the house of Henry Cooke, a Norfolk gentleman.[114] In July 1650, he was ordered to take preventative measures for the county's security after reports of a design against Yarmouth and Lothingland,[115] and in October 1650, reported to the Council about the security of the Eastern Counties, and delivered some examinations which he had made concerning a conspiracy against certain unnamed garrisons.[116]

Walton was instrumental in suppressing the Norfolk insurrection and its follow-up.[117] In fact, the timing of the uprising had been carefully manipulated by Capt. George Bishop, Parliament's chief of counter-intelligence, through the agency of one Captain Kitchingman, alias Smith.[118] It is not clear whether Walton was privy to Kitchingman's activities, but it is probable that, as a member of the Council of State, he was kept well informed.

Walton assisted in the arrangements for the High Court of Justice at Norwich to try the conspirators after the insurrection, the proceedings of which were to be conducted in close liaison with the Council's

[114]P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 343: 14 May 1650.

[115]P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, p. 8: 22 July 1650;

[116]P.R.O., S.P. 25/11, p. 41: 14 Oct. 1650.

[117]On 2 December, the Council read a letter from him of 30 November from Earith, in Lincolnshire, which Mr Robinson reported to the House on the Council's behalf on 3 December. (P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 25: 2 Dec. 1650; C.J., VI, 504).

[118]See Appendix.

Committee for Examinations.[119] The committee for supervising the arrangements of the High Court of Justice also included Sir William Masham of Essex and William Heveningham of Suffolk, both on the Council of State.[120] On the seventeenth, the Council requested Walton to travel down to Norfolk to attend the Court's proceedings.[121] The High Court of Justice despatched with the trial and execution of some twenty men between 20 and 30 December. Others were condemned but later pardoned.[122] During December and for several months after that, the Committee for Examinations endeavoured energetically to track down all lines of conspiracy to their source with the assistance of Walton's deputy, Lieutenant-Colonel Underwood, and Colonel Rich. The latter's mopping-up operations extended as far afield as Lincolnshire and Leicestershire.[123] On 9 December, Horatio Townshend, a leading Norfolk Presbyterian, was committed prisoner to the Sergeant at Arms, for examination by the Council.[124] The Committee examined the cases of various prisoners who had been committed by the High Court of Justice, including one Hickman,[125] and Sir Thomas Gibbon, Sir John Tracy and

[119]P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, pp. 48, 74: 7 and 11 Dec. 1650.

[120]P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, pp. 72, 76: 10 and 11 Dec. 1650.

[121]P.R.O., S.P. 25/15, p. 18: 17 Dec. 1650.

[122]P.R.O., S.P. 25/15, p. 43: 24 Dec. 1650; N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS 2994; Hare MS 5635 C; C.J., VI, 505, 525; Mercurius Politicus, no. 30, pp. 491, 496-7: 23 and 30 Dec. 1650; no. 31, pp. 505-6: 2 Jan. 1651; Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, pp. 38-40; Grey, (ed.), Impartial Examination, IV, 107; Blomefield, Essay, III, 400 (not a full list).

[123]P.R.O., S.P. 25/17, p. 5: 28 Jan. 1651; Mercurius Politicus, no. 26, p. 437: 4 Dec. 1650; Grey (ed.), Impartial Examination, IV, 106-7; Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, pp. 54, 56.

[124]P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 55: 9 Dec. 1650.

[125]P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, pp. 62-3: 23 Jan. 1651.

Sir Ralph Skipworth.[126] In January Skipworth was committed to the Tower on charges of treason,[127] but was discharged on bail the following autumn.[128] Col. Thomas Blague, the chief Royalist organizer in the region, was still in the Tower in December 1651.[129] In May, the Attorney-General handed in a list of certain persons who were to be detained in Norfolk,[130] possibly as a result of the capture and confessions of Thomas Coke, one of the conspirators in the design of 1650.[131] Walton supervized the detentions. Among those detained were some prominent Royalist gentlemen, including Sir Hamon Le Strange, who had led the Royalist seizure of Lynn in 1643, Sir Richard Howell, Thomas Devereux and Robert Clark. In November, the latter addressed a petition to the Council for their release.[132] They were probably those brought to trial in December.[133]

Walton co-ordinated the security arrangements of the region in the months preceding the Worcester campaign. In mid-August 1651, the Council warned Walton of a Royalist plot to seize Crowland, a key point guarding the road through the middle of the fens which connected the east Midlands to the Wash.[134] Much of the momentum of the Royalist efforts

[126]P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 62: 23 Jan. 1651.

[127]P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 75: 27 Jan. 1651; S.P. 25/17, p. 25: 1 Feb. 1651; S.P. 25/19, p. 127: 13 May 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 178: 13 May 1651.

[128]P.R.O., S.P. 25/23, p. 11: 2 Oct. 1651.

[129]P.R.O., S.P. 25/23, p. 72: 29 Oct. 1651; S.P. 25/66, p. 136: 30 Dec. 1651.

[130]P.R.O., S.P. 25/19, p. 143: 17 May 1651.

[131]Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, III, 13.

[132]P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 43: 19 Nov. 1651. see Hillen, *King's Lynn*, pp. 360-1.

[133]P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, p. 34: 30 Dec. 1651.

[134]P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 27: 13 Aug. 1651. S.P. 25/96, p. 355: 14 Aug. 1651.

in Norfolk had been dissipated by the failure of their insurrection the previous year. Nevertheless, the Council took care to ensure that Lynn should not fall into enemy hands, and proposals by Walton, probably concerning the security of the area were referred to the Council's Irish and Scottish Committee on 1 September.[135] The following day the Council instructed Colonel Walton to take special measures to protect the Isle of Ely, which held the other main road across the fens towards Lynn, in case the Scottish army at Worcester should break out of that town and move eastwards. The Council probably feared that, should the Scottish army capture Lynn, it would then be able to fortify it as a base for landing foreign forces.[136]

The defeat of the Scottish army at Worcester did not end the danger, for three days after the battle, Walton submitted further proposals to the Council.[137] In October, the Council made arrangements to deliver Scottish prisoners then being held at Newcastle and Durham, to the adventurers for draining the fens. They were to be sent to Lynn, where they were to be transferred to the custody of the adventurers.[138] This was probably Walton's last major task in the region, although his lieutenant-colonel, Underwood, sat on the Court Martial set up in October at Westminster by the Lord General to try offenders charged with

[135]P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 10: 1 Sept. 1651.

[136]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 483: 2 Sept. 1651.

[137]P.R.O. S.P. 25/22 : 10 Sept. 1651.

[138]P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 35: 14 Oct. 1651.

corresponding with Charles II.[139]

After 1653, the security of Lynn was left to the mayor and his officials, to whom, in July the following year, the Council addressed a warrant to search for suspicious persons.[140] During 1655, care of the security of Lynn passed once again to the standing army, and the officers of Colonel Biscoe's regiment stationed there kept in close touch with Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, to whom the co-ordination of security in the Eastern Counties had by then been entrusted.[141] Of the thirty-five Royalists reported to have been imprisoned at Lynn during the summer of 1655,[142] five gentlemen of Cambridgeshire, eight of Norfolk and twelve of Suffolk were still there in October.[143] Biscoe remained in charge of the security of the town until mid-1659 when, with Biscoe's departure, the security of the town was entrusted to the mayor and corporation.

The responsibility for the safety of Norfolk and Suffolk was initially shared between Colonel Walton and Colonel Berkstead, governor of Yarmouth. In February 1650, the Council entrusted Berkstead with the custody of one James Knapp, who had been kept in the Yarmouth gaol for proclaiming 'Charles II' at Norwich and was to be transferred to

[139]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 582, 16 Oct. 1651.

[140]P.R.O., S.P.25/75, pp. 455-6: 4 July 1654.

[141]T.S.P., III, 292-3.

[142]Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 313.

[143]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 319-20: 3 Oct. 1655.

Thetford, at the next assizes.[144] Berkstead's responsibilities at Yarmouth were taken over by Major Blake in the spring of 1650. In August 1650, Blake was instructed to supervise the arrangements to protect the area; while Colonel Deane, commander of the navy off the East coast, was to maintain surveillance of the coast off Yarmouth from the sea.[145] Blake was given charge of the security of the town during the Norfolk insurrection, and in January 1651, he and the bailiffs of the town detained Col. Arthur Slingsby, a suspected Royalist conspirator, who was then sent up to the Council under the guard of Capt. William Walters of the Yarmouth garrison at the beginning of February.[146] Blake rusticated the town preacher, Mr John Brinsley, in January 1651 on the Council's instructions, presumably for disaffection to the government; and, although Brinsley was later reinstated, he was subsequently called up in May by the Council for examination.[147] During Major Blake's absence on the Worcester campaign, Maj. William Burton, the chief militia officer in the town, probably supervised the security of Yarmouth, and Burton remained in charge of the town in the early part of the following year together with the officers of the three detached companies of Lambert's regiment of foot which then garrisoned the town. It is not known how actively Colonel Goffe was involved in the

[144]P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 46: 26 Feb. 1650; S.P. 25/95, pp. 15-16, 86: 10 Apr. 1650.

[145]P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, p. 65: 9 Aug. 1650.

[146]P.R.O., S.P. 25/17, p. 37: 3 Feb. 1651.

[147]P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 76: 27 Jan. 1651; S.P. 25/65, pp. 3, 10, 16: 18, 19 and 20 Feb. 1651; S.P. 25/19, pp. 104, 117: 6 and 30 May 1651.

maintenance of the security of the town under the Protectorate. During the course of 1655, twelve gentlemen of Norfolk and nineteen of Essex were imprisoned at the town, presumably in his care and in that of his successor, Lieutenant-Colonel Styles.[148] In November, Styles was given the custody of John Cleveland who had been detained on the orders of the Norfolk commissioners.[149] In 1656, the bailiffs of Yarmouth secured one Tobias Barnes on the Council's orders, and Styles may have provided his guard.[150] The security of the town became a pressing concern once again in 1659, and in late July Styles was given joint charge of the security of the town with Burton. On 22 July, the Council instructed both officers to arrest and examine one John Bayley, a traveller from Holland who was suspected of espionage.[151] General instructions were issued to the two officers by the Council on 1 August, and they were ordered to pay special attention to the security of the Isle of Lothingland as a point of strategic importance.[152] Styles left the town shortly afterwards to serve against the Booth rebels in the North-West.

The primary responsibility of the governor of Landguard fort was the security of the fort itself. There was a Royalist plan to seize the

[148]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 319: 3 Oct. 1655.

[149]T.S.P., IV, 216-17.

[150]T.S.P., V, 220.

[151]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 168, 213: 22 July 1659; S.P. 25/98, p. 38: 26 July 1659.

[152]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 261: 1 Aug. 1659.

fort, probably in early July 1650; and some of the soldiers in the fort were paid to assist the design.[153] Nothing came of the plot, and, when the Norfolk insurrection broke out at the end of 1650, the fort was in secure hands, and it remained so for the rest of the period. The security of Harwich was initially the responsibility of the governor of the town. The Lord General, in December 1649, ordered Captain Young to assist the excise commissioners there, and to suppress any tumults which might ensue.[154] At about the time of Worcester, the governor of Landguard fort probably took over the care of the town's security as well, although this was in conjunction with the mayor and corporation there.

The governor of Mersea Island, William Burrell, was entrusted with the supervision of the island as a whole and not simply with that of his garrison. In 1651 he was charged with the removal of one Israel Edwards, who had previously been a preacher on the island,[155] and with the appointment of another minister to replace him.[156] Like the other garrison governors, Burrell acted in concert with Maj. Hezekiah Haynes to preserve the security of the region after the crisis of March 1655. Suspects were imprisoned at the fort during the summer. By the beginning

[153]H.M.C., Portland, I, pp. 577-8, 580.

[154]Worcester College, Clarke MS 17.

[155]P.R.O., S.P. 25/16: 25 Jan. 1651; S.P. 25/65, p. 98: 16 Mar. 1651; S.P. 25/17, p. 66: 11 Feb. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 49: 17 Mar. 1651.

[156]P.R.O., S.P. 18/70, no. 90: 28 Apr. 1654; S.P. 25/76, p. 168: 5 July 1655.

of October, three gentlemen of Essex were still detained there,[157] despite the fact that the fort was shortly to be demolished.

The governor of Tilbury was not merely entrusted with the command of the fort and its garrison, but also supervised the search and surveillance of ships on the Thames by the customs officers at Gravesend.[158] In early 1649, Colonel Temple supervised the apprehension and discharge of the ships carrying the commissioners sent by the Scots to negotiate with the English Parliament.[159] In May, the governor was given a number of instructions about the control of ships riding in the river before the fort, and later that month was ordered to raise the embargo the Council had ordered on Dutch ships carrying coin out of the realm.[160] The Council of State warned Colonel Temple of an enemy design against the fort, and ordered him to remain there to ensure its safety. In August, Colonel Temple was asked to conduct a search for two Royalist agents suspected to be in the vicinity.[161] In January the following year, he was ordered to supervise the search of ships bound along the coast for suspicious persons, and in October, Colonel Crompton, his successor, was ordered to stop all ships bound for Guernsey.[162] In

[157]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 318-22: 3 Oct. 1655.

[158]P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, p. 174: 27 Mar. 1651. See for example S.P. 18/29, no. 140: 16 Dec. 1652, where the governor recommended the appointment of a new searcher at Gravesend.

[159]P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, pp. 14, 46, 50: 23 Feb. and 2 and 3 Mar. 1650.

[160]P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, pp. 362, 375, 382: 28, 30 and 31 May 1649; S.P. 25/94, p. 154: 8 May 1649.

[161]P.R.O., S.P. 25/94, p. 367: 9 Aug. 1650.

[162]P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, pp. 548/9: 23 Jan. 1650; S.P. 25/95, p. 290: 30 Apr. 1650; S.P. 25/11, p. 31: 12 Oct. 1650.

March 1651, it was reported that Crompton had seized three suspicious persons in the course of his search of the ships passing up the Thames,[163] and was keeping another, one Gentillot, under surveillance.[164] In June he detained four more suspects who were bound for Kent, possibly from north of the Thames.[165] The outbreak of the Dutch War in 1652 gave Crompton still more responsibilities. In October 1653, he arrested three suspected Dutch agents and sent them to the Council Committee for Prisoners to be examined.[166] Crompton does not seem to have played much part in the security crisis of 1655, although he remained at his command throughout that time. During the war against Spain, Crompton once more took up the surveillance of the Thames. In November 1657 he apprehended a Dutch ship in which were deserters from the English garrison at Mardike.[167] In the crisis of 1659, he was given a special warrant to secure all suspicious persons who came from overseas.[168]

[163]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 76: 25 Mar. 1651.

[164]P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, p. 189: 31 Mar. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 91: 31 Mar. 1651. Gentillot claimed to be an envoy of the King of France, and was called up for examination by the Council the following July (S.P. 25/72 p. 154: 22 July 1659).

[165]P.R.O., S.P. 25/20, p. 15: 6 June 1651.

[166]P.R.O., S.P. 25/72, p. 154: 24 Oct. 1653.

[167]S.P. 18/157, no. 114: 19 Nov. 1657; S.P. 25/78, p. 289: 19 Nov. 1657; Burrows, 'Tilbury Fort', p. 112.

[168]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 200: 20 July 1659.

2.5 The Finances of the Standing Army

2.5.1 Introduction

The assessment, the system whereby fixed rates were set on all property holders in England and Wales to yield a specified periodic return, had become the financial mainstay of Parliament's standing forces by the end of the Civil War. In the Eastern Counties, it had been developed within the context of the Eastern Association, and culminated in the Ordinance of 20 January 1644 whereby over £30,000 per month was levied on the associated counties to maintain their forces. As Dr Clive Holmes has shown, the crucial feature of this measure was the control vested over the collection and disposal of these funds in the Association's central treasury. This ended the control of the county committees and assessments raised in their counties, and ensured that from then on, the disposal of the funds would be in the hands of the committee for the Association itself.[1] The centralization of financial control within the Association paved the way for the supercession of regional control over funds by the treasury established to pay the New Model army in 1645.[2] However, the diverse sources of revenues, which were allocated to the New Model in 1645 were not unified, and many were greatly in

[1] Holmes, Eastern Association, pp. 127-41.

[2] Firth, Cromwell's Army, p. 63.

arrears. Parliament did little to remedy the situation, and it continued to enact a plethora of diverse financial measures to meet the immediate needs of its garrisons and armies in the field. The uncontrolled numbers and ill-defined status of the many forces in its pay made it impossible to set up a properly-regulated system to pay its army, and the need to deploy forces in Ireland stretched its financial resources still further. During 1648, the finances of the army were further burdened and confused by the diversity of expedients to which Parliament had to resort to tide itself over that period of insecurity.[3] It was not until the political crisis had been resolved forcibly by the army's purge of Parliament in December 1648 and the execution of the King that the army's arrears could be met by an allocation of the former crown lands and so make it possible to reduce the establishment to a manageable size.[4] This, in turn, made it possible to define exactly which forces were on the army establishment, and thus enabled Parliament to provide systematically for their pay and supply. The Act of 12 May 1649 phased out the use of free-quarter by the army, as the soldiers were now to receive their pay regularly.[5] The new arrangement did not completely obviate delays and irregularities. Soldiers were sometimes forced to obtain loans to offset delays in their payment.[6] But in

[3] Reece, 'Military presence', pp. 9, 100-2.

[4] A.O., II, 168-191; Gentles, 'The Debentures Market and Military Purchases of Crown Land', chap. I; H.J. Habbakuk, 'Public Finance and the Sale of Confiscated Property during the Interregnum', Economic History Review, XV (1962), 70-88.

[5] A.O., II, pp. 110-81; Reece, 'Military presence', pp. 102-3.

[6] Reece, 'Military presence', pp. 104-7.

general the pay and supply of the standing army was on a secure footing.

2.5.2 The assessment commission

The assessment was administered by commissioners appointed by Parliament or the Council of State. The Civil War Ordinances provided the framework for administering the assessment[7] and the definitive Act of 7 April 1649 stipulated that the commissioners meet weekly to set in motion and supervize the collection of the assessment; and to adjudicate any disputes which might arise.[8] A series of statutory enactments throughout the Interregnum appointed lists of militia commissioners and stipulated how the assessment was to be administered.

The Norwich assessment commission remained unchanged through the Interregnum period, headed by the group of aldermen who had controlled both the corporation and the city militia and two other members of the ruling Parliamentary group, Adrian Pamerter and Thomas Baret.[9] In January 1660, a number of Royalist sympathizers, headed by Christopher Jay and Roger Mingay, were added to their number, together with Sir

[7] Quintrell, 'Divisional Committee', pp. 20, 22-3, chap. III passim; Holmes, Eastern Association, pp. 133-41.

[8] A.O., II, 24-63.

[9] A.O., II, 40, 305, 474, 671, 1076, 1247; C.J., VI, 562; B.L., E. 1060 (101), pp. 869-70; E. 1061 (69), p. 1630; E. 1062 (28), p. 281; E. 1065 (15), p. 33; P.R.O. Library, P. 50: An Act for Raising of Ninety thousand pounds a Moneth for Six Moneths, To commence the Five and Twentieth day of December one thousand six hundred fifty-one... (London, 1651).

Joseph Payne, who was to command the city militia after the Restoration.[10]

The Norfolk assessment commission was a large body and, by the end of 1652, had grown to well over one hundred members.[11] Its numbers fell below that during Barebone's Parliament,[12] But it was enlarged still further during the Protectorate.[13] In January 1660, it was reduced to just under sixty.[14] The commission was headed by Sir Thomas Wodehouse and Sir John Hobart, the most prominent members of the county commission of the peace. Throughout the period it included gentlemen with a wide range of political persuasions, many of whom, such as Sir William Paston and Sir Horatio Townshend, were later the most prominent figures in county affairs after the Restoration. Lynn was represented by Thomas Toll, Joshua Green and other aldermen of the borough, and Yarmouth similarly had a number of its aldermen on the commission. From the end of 1650, William Burton and Thomas Bendish, leading figures in the Yarmouth corporation, sat on the commission.[15] Despite the fact that Norwich had a separate assessment commission, many of the leading members of the corporation were also on the county commission for the

[10] A.O., II, 1375-6.

[11] A.O., II, 40, 304-5, 473, 670-1; C.J., VII, 54; B.L., E. 1060 (101), pp. 868-9; E. 1061 (69), p. 1629; P.R.O. Library, P. 50, Act [...from 25 Dec. 1651].

[12] B.L., E. 1062 (28), p. 280.

[13] A.O., II, 1075-6, 1247; B.L., E. 1065 (7), p. 187; E. 1065 (15), pp. 31-2; P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, p. 440: 11 Feb. 1658.

[14] A.O., II, 1375.

[15] B.L., E. 1061 (31), p. 1230.

county. All the county militia colonels and their field officers were on the commission. Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, responsible for the security of the region from 1655, was added to the commission during the Protectorate.[16] At the beginning of 1660, there was a break in the continuity of membership of the county commission. The two militia colonels, Robert Wilton and Robert Jermy, were omitted from the list contained in the Act passed on 26 January, together with several others who had served on the commission throughout the period, including Thomas Toll and Joshua Green of Lynn. William Burton bailiff of Yarmouth for that year, was retained on the commission, although his colleague, Thomas Bendish and some others were replaced. Col. William Styles, former governor of Yarmouth, was added to the commission at that time.[17]

The Suffolk assessment commission was not as large as that for Norfolk. By the end of 1652, it had grown to almost eighty in number,[18] and fell to just over sixty during Barebone's Parliament.[19] During the Protectorate, it increased to about one hundred,[20] only to be reduced to about sixty in 1660.[21] William Heveningham, custos rotulorum of Suffolk through the 1650s, was on the county commission

[16] B.L., E. 1065 (15), p. 31.

[17] A.O., II, 1375.

[18] A.O., II, 43, 120, 309, 478, 675; C.J., VI, 273, 339, 347, 562; VII, 54; B.L., E. 1060 (101), pp. 675-6; E. 1061 (69), p. 1637; P.R.O. Library, P. 50, Act [...25 December 1651].

[19] B.L., E. 1062 (28), p. 297.

[20] A.O., II, 1080-1, 1248; B.L., E. 1065 (15), pp. 40-1.

[21] A.O., II, 1379.

throughout the period, together with several other J.P.s for the county. Sir Thomas Barnardiston, a leading county gentleman and militia commissioner, was added to the commission by special order of Parliament at the end of 1649.[22] and John Fothergill, one of colonels of the county regiments of foot was added in April 1651.[23] Like the Norfolk commissioners, the Suffolk commissioners represented a wide range of political persuasions, and those who were later to command the Suffolk militia after the Restoration were all represented on the commission during the Interregnum. The leading members of the corporations of Ipswich, Bury, Aldeburgh and Sudbury were all represented on the county commission, although Ipswich, Bury and Aldeburgh each had their own assessment commissions up to the end of the Protectorate,[24] and Sudbury was given its own assessment commission during the later Protectorate.[25] All four of the militia colonels of 1650 were on the commission throughout this period, as were several of their field officers. Capt. Thomas Ireton, governor of Landguard fort, was added to the assessment commission for Suffolk in May 1650, and remained on it until his death in 1652;[26] and his successor, Capt. Benjamin Gifford during 1655.[27] Col. John Biscoe, then in charge of the garrisons along

[22] C.J., VI, 339.

[23] C.J., VI, 561.

[24] A.O., II, 43, 309, 478, 675-6, 1081; B.L., E. 1060 (101), p. 875; E. 1061 (69), p. 1638; E. 1062 (28), p. 298; E. 1065 (15) pp. 41-2; P.R.O. Library, P. 50, Act [... 25 December 1651]; P. 52, Catalogue of all those Ordinances ... since the Government was established in his Highness the Lord Protector, (London, 1654), p. 140.

[25] A.O., II, 1081; B.L., E. 1065 (15), p. 42.

[26] A.O., II, 478, 675; B.L., E. 1060 (101), p. 875; E. 1061 (69), p. 1637.

[27] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 400: 28 Nov. 1655; S.P. 25/76A, p. 166: 28 Nov. 1655.

the Norfolk and Suffolk coasts, joined the commission for Suffolk and Essex in March 1657.[28] In 1660, Suffolk suffered less of a break in continuity of membership than did Norfolk, and despite the reduction in the size of the commission in January 1660, most of the key individuals who had served on it through the Interregnum period were retained.[29]

The Essex assessment commission, like the Suffolk commission, grew to just under eighty in its membership at the end of 1652,[30] and fell to just under sixty during Barebone's Parliament.[31] It rose to just over that number during the Protectorate,[32] to be reduced to just under seventy at the beginning of 1660.[33] During the Commonwealth period it was headed by Sir William Masham and Sir Henry Mildmay, the custodes rotulorum during that period. The leading J.P.s of the Protectorate, Sir Thomas Honeywood, Sir John Barrington and Sir Richard Everard, sat on the commission until 1660. During the early Commonwealth period, there was a separate commission for Colchester which was dominated by Henry Barrington, the leading independent in the corporation, and his political associates. Barrington sat on the county commission as

[28] B.L., E. 1065 (15), p41.

[29] A.O., II, 1379.

[30] A.O., II, 34-5, 298-9, 466-7, 663; C.J., VII, 10, 54; B.L., E. 1060 (101), p. 859; E. 1061 (69), pp. 1616-17; P.R.O. Library, P. 50, Act [... 25 December 1651].

[31] C.J., VII, p. 355; B.L., E. 1062 (28), p. 278.

[32] P.R.O., S.P. 25/75, p. 79: 7 Feb. 1654; S.P. 25/74, p. 83: 28 Apr. 1654; S.P. 25/77, p. 8: 26 Mar. 1656; A.O., II, 1068-9, 1246; B.L., E. 1065 (15), pp. 19-20.

[33] A.O., II, 1368-9.

well.[34] This separate commission was discontinued by Barbone's Parliament. Nevertheless the borough continued to be represented on the county commission as before by a number of its leading members.[35] All three of the county militia colonels sat on the county commission, and several of their field officers. Of the regular army, Col. Nathaniel Rich, some of whose companies were stationed in the area during that time, sat on the commission until 1653,[36] and during the later Protectorate, the commission included Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, then responsible for the security of the region, Colonel Biscoe, the governor of Lynn, and Colonel Salmon, whose regiment was stationed in the region during that time.[37]

2.5.3 Collection of the assessment

The collection of the assessments brought the assessment commissions into close contact with the institutions of local government and the public at large. The agents of the commissioners rated the property-holders within each parish on the basis of information about the value of their real and personal estate. The numerous county rates were a

[34] A.O., II, 119, 299, 467, 663; B.L., E. 1060 (101), p. 859; E. 1061 (69), p. 1617; P.R.O. Library, P. 50 Act [... 25 December 1651].

[35] C.J., VII, 355; B.L., E. 1062 (28), p. 278. An attempt to add the name of Thomas Reynolds, Barrington's political antagonist in the borough, was defeated.

[36] A.O., II, 34, 298, 466, 663; B.L., E. 1060 (101), p. 859; E. 1061 (69), p. 1616.

[37] A.O., II, 1069; B.L., E. 1065 (15), p. 20.

useful guide for the level of the assessment itself, and the assessment commissioners, many of them also J.P.s, were able to draw upon the expertise of their county officials. The parish constables were required to give assistance to the assessors and collectors in the parishes, and to bring both officials and members of the public before the assessment commissioners to answer any charges which might arise. The high constables of the hundreds were an integral part of the assessment machinery. Similarly, the borough assessment commissions were able to draw upon the expertise of the borough officials and the presence of leading members of the corporations on the county commissions made possible close liaison between the commission and the corporations.

Sums were usually allocated to specific counties and cities by the statutes by which the assessment was instituted. For a borough assessment commission to operate as a fully distinct entity, a definite sum needed to be specified in the statutory instrument. In the Eastern Counties, separate sums were named, in the statutes, for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex; but despite the fact that separate commissions were appointed for a number of boroughs in Suffolk, and in Essex for Colchester, no separate sums were named in the Act for any of the boroughs apart from Norwich. Arthur Banardiston, the Recorder of Colchester, observed that this placed the boroughs 'at the will of the commissioners of the county to assesse [them] as they please'.^[38] Since the boroughs were usually

[38] E.R.O., D/Y, 2/7, p. 35: letter to the Colchester corporation, June 1654.

themselves represented on the county committee, this was not a completely one-sided process, and in December 1651, Colchester did in fact secure an abatement of over forty per cent of the sum set on it; although this abatement was short-lived and for the assessment for the second half of 1652, the borough commissioners were required to set a supplementary rate to bring it to its previous level.[39] In March 1649, Southwold was able successfully to appeal to the assessment commission of Suffolk for a reduction of its monthly charge by pleading the impoverishment of the town through losses at sea.[40] Even where counties and boroughs had separate sums assigned to them, the possibility of dispute between their committees was not ruled out. The exact determination of the respective boundaries was a notable cause of controversy, as in the case of Norwich and Norfolk, where both commissions claimed to lie within their jurisdictions.[41] To administer the assessments, the hundreds of the counties were grouped into divisions each allocated to divisional committees consisting of groups of assessment commissioners.

The hundreds of Norfolk were grouped into eight divisions and, when taken in pairs, corresponded roughly to the four divisions within which

[39] B.L., Stowe MS 833, fols. 93, 94, 100.

[40] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, order of the Beccles divisional committee: 24 Mar. 1649.

[41] N.N.R.O., Norwich City Records, 13 b 1; B.L., Addit. MS 22620, fols. 148 et seq.; Addit MS 23006, fols. 43-44v.

the county foot regiments were raised and mustered.[42] The hundreds of Suffolk fell into three divisions for the assessment. As for the militia, they were centred respectively at Bury, Ipswich and Beccles. Each of these divisions was further sub-divided. The Bury division was sub-divided between those hundreds around Bury itself, and those around Sudbury.[43] The Ipswich division probably fell into two sub-divisions. The first comprised the central section of the county around Eye;[44] and the second, the Ipswich and Woodbridge sub-division, comprised the coastal strip around Aldeburgh and Orford.[45] The sub-division excluded the towns of Aldeburgh,[46] and the town of Ipswich itself, which was

[42] The hundreds were grouped into the following divisions: (1) Freebridge Marshland, Freebridge Lynn and Clacklose; (2) Smithdon, Brothercross, Gallow and Launditch; (3) North Greenhoe, Holt, North and South Erpingham and Eyensford; (4) Tunstead, Happing, West and East Flegg; (5) Walsham, Blofield, Taverham, Clavering and Lodden; (6) Henstead, Depwade, Earsham and Diss; (7) Humbleyard, Forehoe and Mitford; (8) Giltcross, Shropham, Grimshoe, Wayland and South Greenhoe.

[43] Those initially in the Bury sub-division were: Blackbourn, Thedwestry, Thingo and Risbridge, together with the town of Bury with Lackford added in March 1649 (P.R.O., S.P. 28/334: accounts of Jasper Shepherd; E. 179/183/559, duplicate schedules for Bury sub-division). Those in the Sudbury sub-division initially were Babergh and Cosford (E. 179/270/6). The hundred of Risbridge was taken from the Bury and added to the Sudbury sub-division in June 1649 (E. 101/603/5, fol. 39; E. 179/183/558, warrant to Roger Kerrington; E. 179/183/559; E. 360/208, account of Roger Kerrington for assessments from 25 Sept. 1649-30 Mar. 1650); and was re-allocated to the Bury division in December (E. 101/103/5, fol. 39).

[44] P.R.O., E.179/183/608, a semi-legible parchment giving the rates for a Civil War assessment in the hundreds of Hoxne, Samford, Bosmere and Claydon.

[45] P.R.O., S.P. 28/334, order of Court of Exchequer, temp. Restoration; E. 179/183/552, duplicate schedule for assessment 1 Apr.-1 Dec. (year not known); The sub-division included the hundreds of Plomesgate, Wilford, Thredling, Loes, Carlford, Colneis, and the town of Orford.

[46] E.S.R.O., EE1/01/1, fol. 111.

administered as a separate entity.[47] The Beccles division was sub-divided between the hundreds around Beccles itself, together with Lowestoft;[48] and the hundred of Blything, together with Dunwich and Southwold.[49] For the assessment, the hundreds of Essex were grouped into six divisions, which possibly sub-divided the three divisions of the county from which the three county militia regiments were raised.[50]

Once the divisions of each county had been agreed upon and committees appointed, the next step was to assess the sums to be collected from each property holder within the respective divisions. Two assessors for each parish were appointed by the assessment commissioners of each division. The assessors' task was to draw up a schedule of the rateable value of all property in each parish. Freehold, copyhold and fee-farms alike were rated, but property belonging to universities, schools and charitable institutions was exempted.[51] The committee for the southern division of Essex met at Romford on 23 May 1649 to appoint assessors

[47] P.R.O., S.P. 28/334, account of Nicholas Cooke, high collector for the town of Ipswich: 29 Sept. 1649 - 25 Dec. 1651.

[48] It included the hundreds of Lothingland, Mutford and Wangford (P.R.O., E. 179/183/560, account of Edmund Nevill, for payments: 28 Sept. and 15 Nov. 1656).

[49] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, schedule of arrears owed for the twelve-month assessment ending 25 March 1649; E. 179/183/560, account of Daniel Ewen for assessments: 25 Mar. 1649 - 25 Dec. 1651.

[50] They were: (1) Becontree, Havering, Chafford and Barstable; (2) Rochford, Dengie and Chelmsford; (3) Witham, Thurstable, Lexden, Winstee and Tendering; (4) Hinckford; (5) Dunmow, Uttlesford, Freshwell and Clavering; (6) Waltham, Harlow and Ongar.

[51] A.O., II, 54-7.

under the Act and issued special instructions that personal estate be listed as far as possible in order to comply with the Act.[52] The returns of the high constables by parish for the first three months of the assessment from 24 June were examined by the committee on 25 July,[53] and those for the following three months on 30 August.[54] The committee also heard complaints against the assessors and investigated irregularities. In the case of the parish of Orsett in the hundreds of Barstable, the assessors were dismissed and replaced by the committee for failing to rate the personal estates of those in their parish according to the Act, and the new assessors were required to submit new valuations to the committee by a set date.[55] In Colchester, warrants were sent out by the committee on 29 May 1649 to the assessors of the town to return, by 1 June, a list of the annual rents of all houses, lands and tenements in the borough, together with a valuation of the real and personal estate of every inhabitant of the town.[56] After that, valuations were made almost every year, but their totals fluctuated considerably, and were thus of only limited use.[57]

The divisional committee calculated the rate of the assessment within the division by taking the amount set on each division and the total of

[52] B.L., Addit. MS 37491, fols. 209v-210v.

[53] B.L., Addit. MS 37491, fol. 212.

[54] B.L., Addit. MS 37491, fols. 214v.

[55] B.L., Addit. MS 37491, fols. 215v-216.

[56] B.L., Stowe MS 833, fol. 61.

[57] B.L., Stowe MS 833, fols. 62, 84, 95, 107.

the property valuations made by the assessors in each parish of the division. For example, at the beginning of 1651, the Colchester committee set a rate of sixpence for every twenty shillings' annual rent and upon every twenty pounds stock.[58]

The divisional committee also supervised the business of collection. Assessments were usually set for periods of three, four and six months, although in the case of the last the assessment was usually collected in two- or three-month instalments. Occasionally, two or more instalments of the assessment could be assessed and collected at once for administrative convenience such as in May 1651, when the Colchester committee decided that the six months of the assessment, which previously had been collected in three two- monthly instalments, should be assessed as a single instalment.[59] High collectors were appointed for the divisions or sub-divisions of the county or boroughs by the assessment committees of each division. Little is known about the high collectors of Norfolk and Norwich during the Interregnum. In Suffolk, Jasper Shepherd served as high collector for the Bury division from September 1648 until March 1649. He retained overall responsibility for the division until December 1650.[60] Subordinate high collectors were appointed in March 1649 for each of the sub-divisions, namely John Brown

[58] B.L., Stowe MS 833, fol. 85.

[59] B.L., Stowe MS 833, fol. 93.

[60] P.R.O., E. 101/605/5 fol. 39; E. 101/67/11A, membrane 101v; S.P. 28/334, account of Jasper Shepherd; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12.

for the Bury sub- division,[61] and, for the Sudbury sub-division, William Chaplin from March 1649,[62] Roger Kerrington from September 1649,[63] Thomas Hubbard of Melford from March 1650,[64] Capt. William Chaplin, was appointed high collector for the whole Bury division in December 1650.[65] During the Protectorate, he was probably succeeded by Edward Oxburgh of Bury.[66] The Ipswich and Woodbridge sub-division remained a distinct entity throughout the period with Samuel Duncon as high collector until September 1649[67] and then Richard Cooke.[68] Maj. John Moody, previously receiver-general of the county, served as high collector for the sub-division from December 1650.[69] The high

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- [61] P.R.O., E. 179/183/559, duplicate indenture schedules and accounts for the six month assessment from 25 March 1649; S.P. 28/334, order of Court of Exchequer, temp. Restoration; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12.
- [62] P.R.O., E. 179/270/6; S.P. 28/334, accounts of William Chaplin; S.P. 28/337, accounts of John Moody for sums received from William Chaplin; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12.
- [63] P.R.O., p. 179/183/558, warrant to Roger Kerrington for the three months assessment from 25 September 1649; E. 101/605/5, fol. 41, accounts for same; E. 360/208, fol. 1, accounts for same; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts temp. Restoration, p. 12.
- [64] P.R.O., E. 101/603/5, fols. 41v (?), accounts for three months from 25 Mar. 1649; S.P. 28/243, order by Brampton Gurdon, Assington, 11 April 1652 Thomas Hubbard of Melford, gent.; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12.
- [65] P.R.O., E. 101/603/5, fol. 40; S.P. 28/334, order of Court of Exchequer, temp. Restoration and account of William Chaplin; S.P. 28/342, schedules for assessment: 25 Dec. 1650-25 Dec. 1651. S.P. 28/190, account book temp. Restoration, p. 12.
- [66] P.R.O., S.P. 28/332, acquittances for the assessment: 25 Mar. 1657-24 June 1659.
- [67] P.R.O., E. 101/67/11A, membrane 82v, 98, 101v; S.P. 28/334 order of the Court of the Exchequer, temp. Restoration; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12.
- [68] P.R.O., E. 179/318, pt II.
- [69] P.R.O., E. 179/183/560, printed and written acquittances for the three month assessment from 25 Dec. 1650; S.P. 28/334, order of Court of Exchequer, temp. Restoration.

collector for the town of Ipswich up to March 1649 was Isaac Hedge,[70] and then Nicholas Cooke.[71] It is not known who were the high collectors for the Eye sub-division during that time. By 1652, William Hawes was high collector for the entire Ipswich division.[72] Edmund Neville was high collector for the Beccles sub-division from March 1648 throughout the 1650s.[73] The hundred of Blything was administered separately up to the end of 1651 with Daniel Ewen as high collector there from March 1648.[74] In Essex, various high commissioners were appointed to individual hundreds up to March 1649, such as George Church for the Rochford hundred.[75] From September 1649, the high collector for the four hundreds which comprised the Dunmow division was Matthew Pinchbeck,[76] who was succeeded in June 1652 by John Styles of Hempstead who served continuously up to June 1660.[77] The high

[70] E. 101/67/11A, membranes 83, 98, 101v.

[71] P.R.O., S.P. 28/334, account of Nicholas Cooke for the assessment: 29 Sept. 1649-25 Dec. 1651; S.P. 28/190, account of, temp. Restoration, p. 11.

[72] E.S.R.O., HD 179/AAI/2/4, rate on the Hartismere hundred for the three months assessment: from 25 Dec. 1652; S.P. 28/342, assessment 24 June 1656-24 June 1660 passim.

[73] P.R.O., E. 179/183/560, Acquittance 5 July 1649, and account for two payments, 28 Sept. and 15 Nov. 1656; S.P. 28/334, order of Court of Exchequer, temp. Restoration; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12; S.P. 28/332, passim; S.P. 28/260, fols. 63v, 67v; E. 101/67/11A, membranes 98, 102.

[74] P.R.O., E. 179/183/560, accounts for assessments: 25 Mar. 1649- 25 Dec. 1651; S.P. 28/243, acquittances for the six months from 25 Mar. 1649; S.P. 28/334, order of Court of the Exchequer, temp. Restoration; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12; E. 101/67/11A, membranes 98, 102.

[75] P.R.O., S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 11.

[76] S.P. 28/197, fols. 135, book of accounts with assessment from 29 Sept. 1649 to 24 June 1652.

[77] P.R.O., E. 179/269/9; S.P. 28/307, account of John Styles: 23 Dec. 1652; S.P. 28/339, bags of printed acquittances and seventeen duplicate schedules for the division; S.P. 28/353A, fol. 145.

collector for the Becontree division from 1645 was initially John Fenning of Romford, one of the assessment commissioners,[78] who was succeeded in July 1652 by Edward Palmer of Barking. In June 1654, Palmer was in turn replaced by Isaac Fenning.[79] It is not known who were the high collectors for Becontree division for the remainder of the period. For the Waltham division where the high collector, in mid-1650, was Zachary Bell, who previously had served as high collector for the half division of Uttlesford and Dunmow.[80] There is little surviving evidence for the remaining four divisions of the county. Sometime before November 1652, John Reeve was high collector for the Hinckford division. Owen Rowe was high collector for the Eastern half of the Witham division.[81] The town of Colchester was served by a series of high collectors, many of whom were aldermen of the town and some themselves assessment commissioners.[82] In addition to the high collectors for each assessment, special high collectors could be appointed in each division for sums rated over and above the initial rates in order to

[78] P.R.O., S.P. 28/153, book of sworn accounts: 11 Mar. 1652; B.L., Addit. MS 37491, *passim*; Quintrell, 'Southern Division', p. 163.

[79] S.P. 28/294, fols. 11, 361, 366, 472, 476, 650, 658; S.P. 28/295, fols. 66, 69 (n.b. reverse side), 212; S.P. 28/296, acquittance: 13 Aug. 1657; S.P. 28/297, fol. 986; S.P. 28/338, acquittance : 23 Nov. 1655; S.P. 28/153, receipts: 7 Mar. and 5 May 1656.

[80] P.R.O., E. 101/67/11A, membrane 3v, 31, 52v.

[81] P.R.O., S.P. 28/253A, fols. 144-145v.

[82] B.L., Stowe MS 833, namely :- Ralph Creffield: up to 25 Mar. 1649 (fol. 60); Robert Sparrow: 25 Mar. 1649-25 Apr. 1651 (fols. 64, 66, 69, 71, 85); John Gale: 25 Dec. 1651-24 June 1653 (fols. 86, 98, 103); William Cockerell: 25 Dec. 1653-24 June 1654 (fol. 111), and again: 25 June 1660-June 1661 (fols. 137, 141); James Martin: for the 18 month assessment from June 1661 (fol. 142). For Creffield see also P.R.O., S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, *temp.* Restoration, p.11.

make up shortfalls in the sums obtained from the assessment themselves, or in order to collect arrears.

The divisional committee controlled the process of collection and acted as a court of appeal against any irregularities committed by their officials but, at the same time, backed up their officials in cases where difficulties arose in the collection of the assessment. The Act of 26 November 1650 stipulated that duplicates of the valuations returned for each division be made: one was to go to the high collector with the warrant to collect the sums set, and the other to the Treasurers-at-War at the Guildhall.[83] In fact, the practice of issuing duplicates of the assessment in each parish to the high collectors was already well established and the Act ensured that there be a double check on the amount collected. In each county hundred the high collectors supervised the two high constables who divided the responsibility for the parishes of each hundred between themselves. Two collectors in each parish, as nominated by the high constables of each hundred, were appointed and listed by the assessment committee for the divisions.[84] The assessment committee for each county division issued warrants for the collection of the assessment to the high constables of each hundred, who then gave instructions to the collectors in the parishes.[85] In the boroughs, the

[83] A.O., II, 456-90.

[84] E.S.R.O., HD 330/6, fols. 2v-4, 5-7; B.L., Addit. MS 37491, passim; Harleian MS 454, fols. 121, 119, 117v, 115v, 115, 114v, 113, 112v, 111.

[85] P.R.O., E. 179/183/558; B.L., Addit. MS 37591, passim.

committee sent the warrants directly to the collectors.[86] The money was then collected at the divisional rate according to the list for each parish contained in the duplicate then in the hands of the high collector, and was brought in on a specified date to the high collector, who then accounted to the receiver- general of the county.[87] The divisional committee had statutory powers to ensure that the accounts were delivered to them. In May 1653 the Colchester Committee warned the collectors of the parish of Lexden to collect the rates allotted to them and pay them in to the high collector on pain of proceedings by the committee against them under the Assessment Act. In this the committee was supported by a letter from the Army Committee.[88] Conversely, the divisional committee could give legal backing to its collectors. In July 1659, the Norwich Corporation in its capacity as the assessment commission of the city, heard evidence against one John King who had insulted the collector and refused to pay the rate.[89] Sometimes the assessment committees were forced to call upon the Council for assistance as in the case of the committee for the Lynn division which in February 1658 petitioned the Council to alter proceedings brought against one of its collectors by Robert Green of Lynn.[90] The assessment commission could call upon the assistance of the local

[86] B.L., Stowe 833, passim; E.S.R.O., EE5/5/25, assessment schedules: 17 July 1654, 7 Aug. 1656, early 1660, 4 Mar. 1661 and 12 May and 20 Aug. 1662.

[87] B.L., Addit. MS 37491, passim; Stowe, MS 833, passim.

[88] B.L., Stowe MS 833, fol. 103.

[89] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 B 21, fol. 103v.

[90] P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, p. 440: 16 Feb. 1658.

militias in cases where there was resistance to the collection of the assessment. Not only could the militia commissioners draw on their own forces for this purpose, but, as the co-ordinators for local security, they could also call upon units of the standing army stationed in their area. Soldiers often accompanied collectors on their duties, and assessment commissioners sometimes had a number of troopers allocated to them on a semi-permanent basis for this purpose, as was the case with the Essex county committee in 1649.[91] In 1650 troopers assisted the collectors at Epping in the Waltham division in the collection of arrears;[92] and at Stistead in 1652 troopers assisted with the distraint of goods.[93] Soldiers were also used to guard the money when it was paid over by the high collectors, such as in the Blything hundred at the beginning of 1649, where the high collector employed soldiers to guard the transport of the assessment money to Ipswich and elsewhere.[94]

[91] B.L., Harleian MS 6244, fols. 16, 18.

[92] E.R.O., Q/S Ba 2/74 depositions of Zachary Bell et. al.: 15 July 1650.

[93] P.R.O., S.P. 18/99, no. 99, petition of Samuel Braintree: 31 July 1655.

[94] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, warrant of the committee for the Blything sub-division: 28 Feb. 1649.

2.5.4 The channelling of funds to the standing army

The assessment funds were controlled by Parliament through the Army Committee. The Army Committee was responsible overall for the payment of the army in the Commonwealth as a whole, and it controlled this through warrants to the Treasurers-at-War at the Guildhall in London. Pay of the soldiers in the field and in garrisons, as well as funds for military supplies, were allocated by settled assignments from the Treasurers-at-War to the receivers-general of the assessment in the counties.[95] The Army Committee kept its own agents in the counties in order to transport money from the county receivers-general to the Guildhall. They were paid a fixed salary by the Army Committee out of the assessment money raised in their respective counties. Throughout the Interregnum those in the Eastern Counties were: Daniel Bradford in Norfolk, Thomas Weekes in Suffolk and John Duncombe in Essex.[96] After the Restoration, John Duncombe was replaced by Thomas Davies.[97] The Treasurers-at-War sent wagons to the counties under armed escort to bring the money raised in the counties up to the Guildhall in London.

The receiver-general of the county was usually also an assessment

[95] Reece, 'Military presence', p. 34.

[96] P.R.O., S.P. 28/57-9, for Dec. 1648 - Apr. 1649; E. 101/67/11B, for May 1649 - Dec. 1651; Bodleian, Rawlinson A 208, for Jan. 1652-54; P.R.O., 351/306, for July 1653 - Dec. 1658; S.P. 28/115-19, for Jan. 1658 - Apr. 1660.

[97] P.R.O., S.P. 46/99, fol. 95.

commissioner. His task was to receive and disburse all monies obtained from the assessment on instructions from the Treasurers- at-War. The receiver-general for Norfolk from at least December 1645, was John Corie,[98] and later Capt. Thomas Garrett, militia officer and assessment commissioner.[99] For the three years assessment from 24 June 1657 and for the six months from 24 June 1659, the county receiver-general was Maj. Ralph Woolmer, another officer of the county militia.[100] In 1660, Woolmer was replaced first by Thomas Corie of Norwich,[101] and then in November by Robert Bendish.[102] In Norwich, the receiver-general from early 1645 was Samuel Brewster,[103] who was succeeded, after his death in 1650, by Thomas Baret until September 1660.[104] In November 1650, the receipt of the city assessment was entrusted to Robert Bendish, also receiver-general for the county.[105] The Suffolk general receivership was administered jointly by Daniel Ewen and Thomas Weekes up to March 1649.[106] In March 1649 Capt. John Moody,

[98] P.R.O., E. 101/67/11A, membranes 24, 48v, 64v, 80v, 96v, 101.

[99] P.R.O., E. 101/67/11A, fol. 12v.

[100] P.R.O., S.P. 28/295, fols. 594-1018.

[101] P.R.O., S.P. 28/296, bundle of printed receipts for the six months assessment: from 25 Dec. 1659; E. 351/2804D.

[102] P.R.O., S.P. 28/294, fols. 725-803; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12; S.P. 46/138, fol. 13.

[103] P.R.O., S.P. 28/297, fols. 685-8; E. 101/67/11A, membranes 24, 48v, 65, 81, 96, 101.

[104] P.R.O., S.P. 28/260, fol. 60; P.R.O., S.P. 28/297, fols. 266-321, 678-740, 814; E. 179/316, two commissions of dedimus potestatem, 1662.

[105] P.R.O., S.P. 28/294, fols. 779-807; S.P. 46/138, fol. 13.

[106] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, payments to Daniel Ewen: 28 Feb. and 30 July 1649.

one of the county militia officers, was appointed receiver-general.[107] From 1650, the county may not have had a receiver-general at all, and the high collectors accounted directly to the Treasurers-at-War.[108] From June 1654, Robert Duncon of Ipswich held the receivership for the whole county once again, and served until June 1660.[109] He was succeeded in June 1660 by Robert Butts,[110] who, in January 1651, was in turn succeeded by Henry, later Sir Henry, Bacon of Blundeston.[111] The receiver-general in Essex from March 1647 to June 1660 was Robert Smith of West Ham, alderman of the City of London, who served throughout the

[107]P.R.O., E. 179/183/560, warrants, acquittances, and accounts for the six months assessment from 25 March 1649; S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12; S.P. 28/260, fol. 55; S.P. 28/334, order of Court of Exchequer, temp. Restoration.

[108]P.R.O., E. 101/67/11A membranes 101v-102.

[109]P.R.O., S.P. 28/190, book of accounts, temp. Restoration, p. 12; S.P. 28/342, bundle of printed receipts for the six months assessments from 24 June 1656 and 25 December 1656, the three months assessment from 25 March 1657, and for the three years assessment from 24 June 1657, and for the two month assessments from 24 June and 25 December 1659; E. 351/308, charge of Duncon for arrears; S.P. 28/339, miscellaneous warrants; S.P. 28/342, account of Robert Duncon for the six months assessment from 25 December 1659.

[110]P.R.O., E. 179/318, pt I; S.P. 46/138, fol. 13.

[111]P.R.O., E. 179/305/4, printed acquittances for the six months assessment from 1 January 1660; E.S.R.O., HD 344/1, appointment of Henry Bacon by the assessment committee for the six months assessment from 1 January 1661.

period.[112] until June 1660 when he was replaced by Thomas Argall.[113] Apart from the receivers-general for the assessment, special receivers were appointed for arrears. Henry Barrington of Colchester was receiver-general of the arrears of Essex throughout the period until 24 June 1660.[114] In Suffolk, Peter Fisher of Ipswich acted both as registrar of the county committee for taking accounts and as receiver for the arrears of the county.[115]

The county receivers-general, and sometimes the divisional high collectors as well, made direct payment to army units stationed in their

[112]P.R.O., S.P. 28/190, a book of accounts temp. Restoration, pp. 10-11; E. 101/67/11A, membrane 69, 95v, 99v. With Quintrell, I identify six acquittance books:- first: 25 Mar. 1648 - end of Sept. 1649; second and third: Sept. 1649 - Dec. 1650 (missing); fourth : Dec. 1650 - Dec. 1651; fifth: June 1652 - June 1653; sixth: June (not December) 1653 - June 1654 ('Divisional Committee', p. 66; S.P. 28/153). In addition there are bundles of printed receipts for the six months assessment from 24 June 1654 (28/294, fols. 390-480, 498- 500; S.P. 28/295, fols. 38-69; S.P. 28/293, fols. 501-4); the six months from 25 December 1654 (S.P. 28/294, fols. 648- 477), the six months from 24 June 1655 (S.P. 28/339); the six months from 25 December 1655 (S.P. 28/153); the six months from 24 June 1656 (S.P. 28/293, fols. 279-80, 534; S.P. 28/294, fols. 8-10, 148, 352; S.P. 28/295, fols. 128, 479, 480, 492; S.P. 28/297, fols. 811, 813, 815, 986); the six months from 25 December 1656 (S.P. 28/294, fols. 599-605; S.P. 28/296); the six months from 25 March 1657 (S.P. 28/296); the three years from 24 June 1657 (S.P. 28/294, fols. 148, 361- 75, 1145-61; S.P. 28/295, fols. 210-25, 842-51); the six months from 24 June 1659 (S.P. 28/297 fols. 970-86); the six months from 25 December 1659 (S.P. 28/294, fols. 171, 496-7; S.P. 28/295 fols. 20-8; S.P. 46/99, fols. 91-107; S.P. 46/134, nos. 1-3, 36); Also warrants for payments by Smith: Mar. 1655-Dec. 1660 (S.P. 28/227), Apr.-July 1660 (S.P. 46/99; S.P. 46/134).

[113]P.R.O., S.P. 46/138, fol. 13; E. 179/312.

[114]E. 179/312.

[115]P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, orders of the county committee: 5 Apr., 8 Oct., 8 Nov. 1648, 10, 11 and 16 June and 27 Sept. 1649; S.P. 28/253A, fols. 17-18, 57v, 67, 81-81v, 85, 86v, 88, 92v, 97- 97v, 99v-100, 101, 108, 115, 116v, 120v, 122, 123v, 124, 125, 128, 129, 138v, 139v, 210-11v, 212v, 213; S.P. 28/259, fols. 60, 93, 130-1, 136-7v, 181, 360-1v, 437-8v.

vicinity. The army's pay had been put on a well-ordered footing by the Act of 12 May 1649.[116] With a fixed establishment, assignments were to be made out of the money raised from the assessment under the direction of the Treasurers-at-War. Warrants were sent to each unit authorizing them to draw sums of money according to their musters under the establishment then in force.[117] Copies of these were also sent to the receiver-general for the assessment of the county out of which payment was to be made. The receiver-general would either pay the officer in question out of the money in his own hands, or else send the officer to one of the divisional high collectors to obtain his money, and acquit the high collector for the sum. This arrangement avoided the delay and risk involved in transporting the money to London and then sending it out to the counties again. If possible, the Treasurers-at-War would make assignments out of the funds of those counties nearest to which the particular units were stationed, so that an officer of the unit concerned could collect the money without undue difficulty.[118] However, this rule was by no means a fixed one, and, for example, although assignments out of the assessment were made to regiments stationed in the region, such as during the Commonwealth, to those of Colonels Rich, Fleetwood and Whalley, assignments were also made from the Eastern Counties to those around London and others further afield. During the Protectorate, payments were made to Colonel Whalley's horse

[116]A.O., II, 110-18.

[117]Reece, 'Military presence', pp. 33-4.

[118]Reece, 'Military presence', p. 35.

and Colonel Salmon's foot, stationed in the area, from the assessments of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, but others were made to several units not in the region.[119] The system worked reasonably consistently and effectively throughout the period except towards the end, when the sudden expansion of the army, combined with the restored Rump's maladministration of the army's revenue, caused the system to show signs of strain, and even collapse. Where shortfalls in the payment of soldiers arose, loans were obtained, usually from the corporations of the towns in which the soldiers were stationed. In July 1657 the corporation of Norwich advanced £60 to each of the two companies of Salmon's regiment stationed in the city.[120] At the beginning of 1660, the corporation of Norwich lent the two companies in the city £100 for their quarter, since they were without pay.[121]

Like the field forces, the garrisons on the regular establishment were often paid directly from the funds raised locally. The assessment money collected in the larger towns such as Lynn and probably Yarmouth as well, was assigned to the pay of the garrisons stationed there, and, more generally, the pay of the garrisons in the region was assigned from the assessment collected in the Eastern Counties. The receivers-general

[119]P.R.O., S.P. 28/57-119; S.P. 28/153; S.P. 28/227; S.P. 28/293-7; S.P. 28/339; S.P. 28/342.

[120]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fols. 58v, 72.

[121]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 13; P.R.O., E. 179/316, certificate by the commissioners for the twelve month assessment from 24 June 1659: 9 May 1661.

of the counties, or alternatively the high collectors of the divisions in which the garrisons were situated, paid the garrisons directly out of the assessment money which came into their hands. Before the inception of the army establishment of May 1649, the corporation of Lynn had lent Colonel Walton money for his garrison, which Walton was subsequently able to repay,[122] Most of the assessment money raised in Lynn went towards paying its garrison. The corporation found in Colonel Walton a willing ally in its attempt to obtain a more favourable rating for the town, because Walton was obviously anxious that the pay for his soldiers should not be disrupted by any rating dispute, and in 1648 Walton had accompanied Alderman Richardson to the assessment commissioners at Norwich to make representations about the assessment for the town.[123] In July 1651, the issue of Lynn's assessment allocation came to a head when the corporation was called to account by the county receiver-general, Thomas Garret, for its arrears. Garrett's claim was strongly contested by the corporation and resulted in a prolonged dispute with the county committee during which Walton sought redress from the Army Committee in London on the corporation's behalf, but with little success.[124] The corporation also advanced further money to Walton's regiment for quartering, and in 1653, with the disbandment of the garrison, submitted its accounts to the Committee for Taking the

[122]N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fol. 254.

[123]N.N.R.O., KL/C39/102.

[124]N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fols. 316v, 317, 318, 328v, 335v, 336, 339, 340, 356v, 368.

Accounts of the Commonwealth for repayment of its surcharge.[125] During the Protectorate the town was called upon once again to bear the burden of the garrison; and in January 1660 the two companies of Biscoe's regiment which were by then still stationed in the town asked the corporation for a loan of £50 each to tide over the arrears in the soldiers' pay.[126] In Yarmouth when Colonel Berkstead's regiment initially garrisoned the town in late 1648, the corporation was called upon to supplement the soldiers' pay, and the money advanced for this purpose was later repaid out of the assessment.[127] The corporation also set an assessment on the inhabitants of the town to provide an advance of money to the soldiers for their board and lodging in inns and alehouses during the first fortnight that they were in the town.[128] In February 1649, £180 was advanced out of the county funds for the garrison's contingencies.[129] Under the establishment beginning 7 May 1649, the finance of the regiment was put on a secure basis, and the Army Committee issued warrants under that establishment for pay and billet-money for the garrisons both there and at Harwich. Colonel Walton's companies, which replaced them in 1650, were similarly provided for.[130] The special force raised by Colonel Walton in August 1651,

[125]P.R.O., S.P. 28/253A, fols. 156v, 176, 182; N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, 377, 387v, 388, 389v, 394.

[126]N.N.R.O., KL/C7/11, fols. 31v, 33, 33v, 34; KL/C39/104, chamberlain's accounts Mich. 1659-Mich. 1660, p. 30.

[127]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 129, 129v, 132, 134v, 135, 144v, 173v, 174v; Y/C27/2, chamberlain's accounts, Mich. 1648-Mich. 1647; Butterfield, 'East Anglia', p. 105.

[128]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 132v, 133, 134v, 143.

[129]Worcester College, Clarke MS 72.

[130]P.R.O., E. 101/67/11B, membranes 24-5.

mainly from the garrison at Yarmouth and under the command of its governor Major Blake, was paid for out of a sum of £20,000 charged against the receipts of Goldsmith's Hall.[131] Walton obtained a number of advances of money against this allocation from the Norfolk assessment, which were later repaid[132] With the disbandment of Blake's special regiment after Worcester, money was obtained first by warrant of the Council out of the £20,000 in order to disband the supernumerary soldiers of that regiment at the end of October, with an extra fourteen days pay.[133] Money was also advanced against the £20,000 by Thomas Bendish of Yarmouth for the transport of the remainder of Blake's regiment to Scotland at the end of 1651.[134] Colonel Goffe's regiment, which garrisoned the town from late 1652, and then Colonel Biscoe's companies which replaced them, were paid without incident, mainly out of the funds in the hands of the Norfolk and Suffolk receivers-general.[135] By 1660, however, the pay of the garrison was in arrear, and in February of that year, the corporation lent the soldiers £200 against the money due to them out of the assessment.[136]

[131]C.J., VI, pp. 616-17. On 26 September, the Council reported that the £20,000 would not all be required 'by reason of disbanding of' the 4,000 foot for which it had originally been raised (C.J., VII, 20; P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 78: 26 Sept. 1651).

[132]P.R.O., S.P. 18/22, nos. 86 and 87: 28 Nov. 1658; S.P. 25/24, pp. 11, 27: 6 and 12 Nov. 1651; S.P. 25/66, pp. 185: 9 Jan. 1652.

[133]P.R.O., S.P. 25/23, p. 59: 25 Oct. 1651.

[134]P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, pp. 153, 189: 7 Jan. 1652; S.P. 18/31, nos. 10 and 11: 7 Jan. 1652.

[135]P.R.O., S.P. 28/295; S.P. 28/342; S.P. 28/115-19.

[136]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 342

Of the garrisons with fixed establishments, that at Landguard was paid from the Suffolk and Essex assessments. In the case of the money from Suffolk, it was usually paid from the Ipswich division. The garrison at Mersea Island was paid exclusively from the Essex assessment. The garrisons were only paid on a settled basis from 7 May onwards. Before that their pay was often in arrears. In 1655, on the disbandment of his garrison, Capt. William Burrell of Mersea Island petitioned the Council for arrears owing from before the commencement of the new establishment, which his soldiers had still not received.[137] He was duly paid the amount by the Army Committee.[138] Up to 1659, the garrison at Tilbury was paid regularly out of the Essex assessment, and, at least once, and probably on most occasions, the money was obtained by the governor of the garrison from the high collector of the Becontree division in which the garrison was situated.[139] In 1659, however, the pay of the garrison fell into arrears, and in July of that year, the Council of State ordered the farmers of the excise for Kent and Sussex to advance money towards the arrears of the soldiers in the fort.[140]

Funds for the supply of the army in Scotland were generally handled

[137]P.R.O., S.P. 18/99, no. 58: 19 July 1655.

[138]P.R.O., S.P. 18/100, no. 56: 16 and 29 Aug. 1655; S.P. 25/76, p. 257: 29 Aug. 1655.

[139]Note especially the reverse of P.R.O., S.P. 28/294, fol. 69, where Issac Fenning, high collector of the division, requested the county receiver-general to acquit him of £53 15s. 18d. paid to Colonel Crompton, governor of Tilbury.

[140]P.R.O., S.P. 25/107, p. 41: 20 July 1659.

directly by the Treasurers-at-War, and they advanced sums out of these funds to local commanders and officials for specific purchases. The receivers-general of the county did not play a direct role in this procedure; and when funds had to be obtained at short notice, they were generally advanced out of the customs and excise rather than out of the much more strictly-controlled assessment funds. In August 1650, Denis Gauden, victualling contractor for the army and navy at Ipswich,[141] was advanced money from the assessment for provisions which he had supplied to Cobbett's regiment for its proposed shipment to Scotland.[142] In 1659, £3000 was advanced to Gauden by the receiver-general of Suffolk.[143] More usually, regular payments were made out of assessment funds still in the region, to Gauden and to Nehemiah Bourne, William Seaman, John King and Robert Grassingham, officials of the navy at Harwich.[144] A large number of these payments were made by the high collector of the Ipswich division, and to a lesser extent, by the high collectors for the Bury and Beccles divisions.[145] Money was also advanced out of money already called up to the Guildhall, by Thomas Weekes, agent for the Army Committee at Ipswich.[146]

[141]Hammond, 'English Navy', p. 253.

[142]P.R.O., S.P. 18/22, no. 93: 4 Dec. 1651; S.P. 25/66, p. 33: 4 Dec. 1651; S.P. 25/103, p. 1: 4 Dec. 1651; E. 101/67/11 B, membrane 143. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, in charge of the rear organization of the English army at the time, was later reprimanded by the Council for contracting in advance for the two days' victuals which the soldiers consumed while on board, rather than having it defalked from their pay (S.P. 25/96, p. 478: 1 Sept. 1651).

[143]Possibly to victual the navy for the Sound.

[144]P.R.O., S.P. 28/342, passim.

[145]P.R.O., S.P. 28/342, passim.

[146]P.R.O., S.P. 18/204, no. 20: 3 Sept. 1659; S.P. 28/342, passim.

3. THE MILITIA

3.1 Introduction

Historians have pointed out the striking contrast between the militias of the early and later Stuarts.[1] For all the improvements in the equipment and training of the early Stuart militia, it was still at the mercy of the local officials and contributors. The local officials often forestalled the muster-masters which the government appointed by preventing them from making accurate returns of the county strengths, and colluded with local contributors by underrating their property. Since the antiquated Marian statutes for musters and the provision of horse and arms had been repealed by James I in 1604, there was no explicit authority by which the militia could be regulated, only custom and royal prerogative.[2] In Essex, the deputy lieutenants managed to muster the Essex trained bands at almost complete strength during the

[1] Anthony Fletcher, Reform in the Provinces, (New Haven and London, 1986), chap. 9.

[2] L. Boynton, The Elizabethan Militia 1558-1638 (London, 1967), pt III; A. Hassell Smith, 'Militia statutes and militia rates' in The English Commonwealth: Essays...Presented to Joel Hurstfield, ed. P. Clarke (Leicester, 1979), 93-110, 233-6.

invasion scare of 1625, but after that musters declined rapidly. There was a slight recovery during Charles I's personal rule, but the situation deteriorated again with the crisis of the late 1630s.[3] In Norfolk, the deputy lieutenants were unable properly to enforce their orders because the Privy Council did little to ensure that the orders it issued were carried out, or to support the deputy lieutenants when their orders were challenged by local interests.[4] By contrast, the deputy lieutenants of the Restoration militia were able to execute their duties with statutory authority. They were given full power to rate property owners for horses and arms according to a clear and explicit rule, and were able to impose a general rate over and above this for contingencies. Their powers to muster and maintain the county forces were also unambiguously set out, together with a wide array of other powers which they might require in the performance of their duty.[5] That the militia did change so dramatically in character between the rules of Charles I and Charles II can be attributed to its development during the Civil War and the Interregnum.

The Interregnum militia, initially subsidiary to the standing army in the defence of the localities, was gradually reinstated as the principal local form of defence. Prior to the Civil War, it was the militia alone

[3] Quintrell, 'Essex', chap. IV.

[4] Owens, 'Norfolk', chap. IX.

[5] J.R., Western, The English Militia in the Eighteenth Century (London, 1965), pp. 11-14.

on which the government could call for the defence of the kingdom, but the creation of professional armies during the Civil War reversed this situation so that, at least for the first few years of the Commonwealth, the militia played a subsidiary role to the standing army in the system of defence. They were organized to augment the standing army in times of danger, and, should a large scale campaign be undertaken (as happened at Worcester), they were used to replace regular units and so free the latter to take part in the campaigns. They could even serve in campaigns themselves. The function of the militia as the first line of their counties' defence was obscured with the decrease in the size and role of the regular forces during the Protectorate, and the militia was once again regarded as the first line of local defence. Where standing forces did remain, they were often thinly spread and served in a more general policing role. Such standing forces as were stationed in the Eastern Counties in the later Protectorate were intended for foreign rather than home service, so that the relatively untroubled years up to and after the old Protector's death saw a restoration of the militia's pre-eminence. The frenetic experiments in which the restored Rump engaged in mid-1659, simply confirmed this trend when it was forced to call upon the Protectorate select militia for its defence. Even then, the foundation was laid for the return to the more widely-based county militias as the chief elements of local defence, for although they were never called out for the crisis of mid-1659, the Act which the Rump passed during that time provided the model for the Restoration Militia

Acts, which together set the militia on a secure and powerful footing.

3.2 The General Militia

3.2.1 The nature and development of the general militia

The militia forces described here as 'general' were those which were levied on the property-holders at large in a given county or borough. Soldiers, horses, arms and pay were provided directly by the property-holders according to a fixed and universal rate. This characteristic made the general militia a cumbersome and expensive force to be embodied for any extended period, but it ensured that the force was properly representative of the localities and that the local property-holders retained some control, albeit a negative one, over the forces raised. The early Stuarts were constrained in their attempts to achieve a perfect general militia precisely by its nature, in that it required the wholehearted and efficient participation of the localities at large in order to be successful.

Charles I's 'dangerous and desperate design' upon the Parliament in early 1642 persuaded both Lords and Commons that they must ensure that the control of the county trained bands should be placed in

Parliament's hands.[6] On 5 March, Parliament passed an Ordinance naming lords lieutenant for each county, who would command the county trained bands and would be directly answerable to Parliament itself.[7] The Ordinance did not specify how the forces were to be raised and maintained, and it remained in abeyance while Parliament negotiated with the King, but once it became clear that the King would not accept a militia which was not entirely dependent upon himself, it was called into operation. Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex were joined together with Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely and Hertfordshire in the Eastern Association by Parliament's Ordinance of 20 December 1642.[8] The county trained bands were placed directly under the control of the deputy lieutenants.[9] To reinforce the authority of the deputy lieutenants, Parliament passed an Ordinance, on 3 July 1644, 'for putting the Associated Counties ... into a Posture of Defence...'. [10] Under this Ordinance, horse, dragoons and foot with their appropriate arms, were to be provided directly for militia service by property-holders in the counties, while incidental militia expenses were to be paid for on the basis of the same ratings. Just over a week later, Parliament passed a further Ordinance to levy specified numbers of horse and foot on several

[6] C.J., II, 376, 379; L.J., IV, 510.

[7] S.R. Gardiner (ed.), The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution 1625-1660 (third edition, Oxford, 1906, reprinted 1979), pp. 245-7.

[8] Holmes, Eastern Association, p. 62.

[9] Quintrell, 'Divisional Committee', pp. 107, 115; Holmes, Eastern Association, p. 103.

[10] L.J., VII, 610-15; A.O., I, 482-5.

counties, and so free the trained bands with the field armies to return to the defence of their home counties.[11] Thus, by these two measures, Parliament intended to restore sound local defence in the counties under its control. For the remainder of the Civil War, the trained bands of the Eastern Counties were not in fact put to the test as there were no further threats to the region. On 8 May 1648, with the news of risings in Wales and with the impending invasion of the Scottish army,[12] the Speaker of the House of Commons wrote to the Essex county committee to put themselves into a posture of defence according to the 1644 Ordinance. The deputy lieutenants replied that there was some doubt about whether the Ordinance was still valid.[13] Parliament accordingly voted on the twenty second of that month to revive all militia powers,[14] and, for Essex in particular, passed an Ordinance on 5 June to indemnify all those who took up arms for the defence of their county.[15] The Parliamentary militias of Suffolk and Essex took part in the siege of Colchester and then returned to their homes.[16]

During the course of 1648, the draft of an Ordinance to set up a uniform basis for the militias across the nation was drawn up and considered by Parliament, and then passed on 2 December.[17] As far as

[11] A.O., I, 472-5.

[12] Gardiner, Great Civil War, IV, chap. LXV.

[13] Bodleian, Tanner MS 57, fol. 83.

[14] C.J., VI, 569; E.S.R.O., EE1/01/1, fol. 101v; E.R.O., D/DQs 18, fol. 38.

[15] H.M.C. Seventh Report, appendix I, p. 29; L.J., X, 306.

[16] Lyndon, 'The Parliament's army in Essex', passim.

[17] Underdown, Pride's Purge, pp. 100-1, 127; A.O., I, 1233-51.

the Eastern Counties were concerned, the procedures by which these militia commissioners were to operate were an elaboration of those contained in the Ordinance of 1644. The Ordinance of 2 December was repealed on the sixteenth of that month.[18] Nevertheless, the work which had gone into the Ordinance was not lost, for although it no longer had statutory force, it provided a better-developed model than had been available before for the settlement of the militia for the Rump itself to take up and perfect. The preparation of the new instrument occupied a good deal of the Rump's time and attention. A committee was appointed in March to consider how the two Ordinances, those of 1642 and 1648, could be revised; and for the succeeding months it worked consistently on the project.[19] By June, the Bill was listed among those to be reported to the House before its summer recess, but there is no further record of its having been presented.[20] Instead, the House merely ordered that the M.P.s return to their counties during the recess, to supervise the organization of the militia as if the Act had already been passed.[21] Instructions for the militia were issued at about this time together with lists of commissioners. During the recess, the Council undertook the task of revising these and putting them in a definitive form.[22] In September, the Militia Bill was at last brought

[18] Underdown, *Pride's Purge*, p. 164; *A.O.*, I, 1251-2.

[19] *P.R.O.*, S.P. 25/62, pp. 82, 128, 139, 149, 163, 174, 229, 235, 267, 313, 324: 13, 29 and 31 Mar., 4, 9, 11, 26 and 30 Apr., 7, 6 and 18 May 1649.

[20] *C.J.*, VI, 237; *P.R.O.*, S.P. 25/62, pp. 453-4, 466: 20 and 25 June 1649.

[21] *C.J.*, VI, 244-5.

[22] *P.R.O.*, S.P. 25/62, pp. 570, 589, 608, 617-19: 28 July, 3, 8 and 11 Aug. 1649; S.P. 25/63, pp. 11, 52: 23 Aug. and 8 Sept. 1649.

before the House and referred to the committee of the whole House.[23] While the House was thus bringing the Bill to its final form, it ordered the Council to prepare instructions for the militia commissioners, which could serve until the Bill was ready.[24] The instructions were read in the Council on 30 November, and five hundred copies were printed and sent down to the counties.[25] In the instructions of late 1649, the Council introduced a number of controls in the appointment of militia officers. All officers and other ranks were to subscribe to the Engagement, and the names of all colonels, lieutenant-colonels and majors were to be returned to the Council for ratification. In January 1650, the Council approved the form of a commission to be issued to militia officers,[26] and commissions were sent down to the counties. Commissions were issued for a full complement of the county regiments of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, as well as for Norwich, Yarmouth and Aldeburgh.[27]

In February, the Council instructed the committee concerned with the

[23] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 82: 17 Sept. 1649; C.J., VI, 297, 299.

[24] C.J., VI, 299; P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, pp. 263, 283, 318: 15, 27 Nov. 1649.

[25] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, pp. 330, 338, 387: 1 and 13 Dec. 1649; Folger, X.D. 483 (48).

[26] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, pp. 517, 523-4: 14 and 15 Jan. 1650. In March 1650, the Council decided to revoke all commissions for lieutenant colonels of horse, and to issue commissions for majors instead (S.P. 25/64, p. 55: 2 Mar. 1650).

[27] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119 (see below for detailed references); S.P. 25/63, pp. 566, 576: 28 and 31 Jan. 1650; S.P. 25/64, pp. 6-9, 315, 443: 19 Feb., 7 May and 12 June 1650; N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, fol. 157; Whitelocke, Memorials, III, 147.

militia to continue with its work[28] and during March the Council finalized the draft of the Militia Bill.[29] The danger of a Scottish invasion in April prompted the House to order the Council to review its instructions to the militia, and finally to settle the militia on a statutory basis.[30] A month later the Council presented the Bill to the House, where it was referred to a committee.[31] The committee reported on 10 July, and the Act was passed the following day.[32] The Act formalized the arrangements which had been made already under the careful supervision of the Council of State. Soldiers were to be allocated to companies of foot and troops of horse and dragoons, and these in turn were to be organized into regiments. The forces were to be mustered and trained as the militia commissioners saw fit, and in time of danger they were to be drawn out and employed according to orders of Parliament and the Council of State. The militia commissioners were to be directly responsible to the Council of State for the deployment of their forces. Already, in June, the Council had resolved to declare that no intermediate commanders-in-chief should be appointed to command the militia.[33] The militia commissioners were empowered to imprison mutineers and to fine or imprison soldiers who did not appear on days of

[28] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 603: 4 Feb. 1650.

[29] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 107, 109, 118, 124, 159: 21, 22 and 25 Mar., 3 Apr. 1650.

[30] C.J., VI, p. 394; P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 275: 29 Apr. 1650.

[31] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 360, 381, 396: 17, 23 and 28 May 1650; S.P. 18/9, no. 60: 28 May 1650; C.J., VI, p. 417; Mercurius Politicus, no. 1, p. 9: 10 June 1650.

[32] C.J., VI, 439; A.O., II, 397-402.

[33] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 496: 29 June 1650.

muster or exercise. The names of field offices and captains who had not yet received their commissions were to be sent to the Council of State, and the Council was to issue commissions for them accordingly.[34] After the passing of the Act, names were sent in from Suffolk and Essex, and commissions for officers were issued.[35] Commissions for the junior officers were to be issued by the militia commissioners themselves on the recommendation of their field officers. The Act confirmed that all officers and soldiers in the militia were to take the Engagement.

In September 1650, with the danger of a Scottish invasion, the Council ordered that the militia throughout the country be put in a state of readiness, in case the army should require their assistance.[36] However, the moment of danger passed, and, by early October, the Council had decided to review the state of the militia with advice from the army officers to determine which militia forces could be released from duty,[37] and on 18 October, Parliament once again brought the regulation of the militia to the Council's special attention.[38] On 28 November, the Council ordered a review of all returns sent in by the militia commissioners to determine which and how many forces had in fact been raised under the Act, with the objective that the bodies of horse

[34] P.R.O., S.P. 25/9, p. 20: 15 Aug. 1650.

[35] P.R.O., S.P. 25/8., p. 43: 2 Aug. 1650; S.P. 25/9, p. 80: 9 Sept. 1650; S.P. 25/12, p. 70: 9 Nov. 1650.

[36] P.R.O., S.P. 25/9, p. 76: 7 Sept. 1650; S.P. 25/10, pp. 15, 27, 76: 17 and 19 Sept., 2 Oct. 1650.

[37] P.R.O., S.P. 25/11, pp. 12, 69: 7 and 18 Oct. 1650.

[38] C.J., VI, 485; P.R.O., S.P. 25/13, pp. 42-4: 21 Nov. 1650.

which the militia commissioners had been keeping up during the time of emergency should be disbanded.[39] But this order was suspended the next morning with the news of the Norfolk insurrection.[40] Some of the county militia assisted in the suppression of the insurrection although the standing army units in the area were used to put down the gathering at Easton Heath itself. On 30 November, the Council sent out orders to several of the surrounding counties to hold their forces on standby.[41] In the wake of the insurrection, the Council prepared new instructions for the militia commissioners,[42] which were passed by the Council on 5 December and sent out to the counties.[43] The principle underlying the instructions was that arms and horses be retained in the hands of those known to be politically reliable, but that the burden, as far as possible, be borne by those of present or past disaffection. Further instructions for the militia were considered and drawn up by the Council over the following days. In accordance with the instructions of 5 December, it ordered that a body of horse and dragoons be kept up out of the county forces, some for a further month.[44]

On 30 November 1650, the Essex militia commissioners were ordered to have their horse and dragoons in readiness, and Sir Thomas Honeywood and

[39] P.R.O., S.P. 25/13, pp. 74-5: 28 Nov. 1650.

[40] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 1: 29 Nov. 1650.

[41] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 17: 30 Nov. 1650.

[42] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 32: 3 Dec. 1650.

[43] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, pp. 41-4: 5 Dec. 1650.

[44] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, pp. 47, 49, 55: 6, 7 and 9 Dec. 1650.

Colonel Cook, the colonels of two of the three foot regiments, were summoned to London to consult with the Council.[45] All three of the county regiments were embodied with their full complements for twelve days from 3 December.[46] A troop of horse and another of dragoons were embodied for a month on the Council's orders from 9 December.[47] The point of greatest concern was Colchester, which the Royalists had seized in June 1648 and had surrendered only after a violent and heavy siege. Despite repeated promptings from the Council, the militia commissioners had failed to slight the walls, and the danger to the town remained. Sir Thomas Honeywood was accordingly appointed governor of the town on 1 December with a garrison of three hundred foot and a troop of horse drawn from the county militia, and the town was garrisoned continuously by the county militia until July 1651.[48] Mersea Island was reinforced by the Essex militia. On 28 August 1650, the Council of State had ordered the militia commissioners to provide the governor with a squadron of horse and fifty foot, and a month later twelve of the horse and twenty-four of the foot were retained for another month.[49] With the outbreak of the Norfolk insurrection, the Council of State ordered that Mersea Island be reinforced again, this time with thirteen horse

[45] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 17: 30 Nov. 1650.

[46] P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 27 Dec. 1650; S.P. 28/332, warrant: 27 Dec. 1650; and 2 warrants: Jan. 1651; Macfarlane (ed.), Diary of Ralph Josselin, p. 221.

[47] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 49: 7 Dec. 1650.

[48] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, pp. 21-2: 1 Dec. 1650; S.P. 28/227, several warrants; S.P. 28/332, 2 warrants: 27 Dec. 1650 and Jan. 1651.

[49] P.R.O., S.P. 25/9, p. 48: 28 Aug. 1650; S.P. 25/10, p. 66: 30 Sept. 1650; S.P. 25/11, p. 32: 12 Oct. 1650.

and forty foot, twenty-four of whom were taken into State pay on 25 January.[50] The Norfolk and Suffolk militias helped to protect the areas around Yarmouth and Lynn, both key points for any enemy landing.[51] On 16 December, the Council wrote to the militia commissioners of Norfolk, Suffolk and Yarmouth to put their forces at the disposal of the governors of the garrisons of Yarmouth and Lynn should they be called upon to do so.[52]

The Militia Act, which was due to expire on 1 February, was renewed on 28 January until 1 May.[53] During January, the Council perused the returns of militia forces which the county militia commissioners had been sending in order to revise the structure of the militia.[54] These revisions were embodied in the explanatory Act of 3 April that year.[55] In the summer of 1651, the precarious nature of the situation in Scotland motivated Parliament to re-confirm the militia commissioners' authority.[56] On 1 July, Parliament gave the Council a carte-blanche to re-empower the militia commissioners as they saw fit;[57] but it was

[50] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, pp. 21-2: 1 Dec. 1650; S.P. 25/16, pp. 71-2: 25 Jan. 1651; S.P. 28/227, warrant: 1651; S.P. 28/332, warrants: 6 Dec. 1650 and 7 Mar. 1651.

[51] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 45: 6 Dec. 1650; S.P. 25/15, p. 14: 16 Dec. 1650; S.P. 25/16, p. 34: 14 Jan. 1651; S.P. 28/243, 2 warrants: 3 Dec. 1650.

[52] P.R.O., S.P. 25/15, p. 14: 16 Dec. 1650.

[53] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, pp. 75, 76: 27 Jan. 1651; B.L., E. 669, fol. 15 (77); C.J., VI, 528; Mercurius Politicus no. 34: 28 Jan. 1651; Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, p. 50.

[54] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, pp. 7, 29-30, 51, 68: 6, 13, 14 and 24 Jan. 1651; S.P. 25/17, pp. 16, 31: 1 and 4 Feb. 1651; S.P. 25/65, p. 124: 19 Mar. 1651.

[55] C.J., VI, 528, 550, 556; A.O., III, lxxxiv.

[56] C.J., VI, 594.

[57] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 265: 1 July 1651.

only on 12 August that the general militia forces were embodied again by the Act passed that day.[58] The general mobilization of the militia forces followed five days later. The Eastern Counties, together with those from south-east England, were ordered to a rendezvous on the twenty-sixth at St Albans under Lieutenant-General Fleetwood.[59] The place of rendezvous was changed to Dunstable for the twenty-fifth to follow the position of the Scottish army as it moved south through north-west England.[60] Then, on the twenty-third, the forces from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and Cambridgeshire were ordered to march directly to Buckingham.[61] Finally, on the twenty-fourth, the militia from the Eastern Counties were ordered to march directly to Oxford where their rendezvous with the militia of the south-east was to take place.[62]

Up to one third of the army which defeated the Scots at Worcester on 3 September consisted of militia.[63] The Essex regiment under Colonel Matthews took part in the attack across the River Teme in Lieutenant-General Fleetwood's division, while the other two Essex regiments were part of the force which repulsed the Scottish counter-attack from the

[58] P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, pp. 13-14: 12 Aug. 1651; C.J., VII, 620; A.O., II, 551-2. The Act of 12 August was extended by the further Act of 2 September (P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 87: 28 Aug. 1651; C.J., VII, 7, 10; A.O., II, 555-6.)

[59] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 368-9: 18 Aug. 1651.

[60] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 388-9, 439: 20, 21 and 26 Aug. 1651.

[61] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 407, 413: 23 Aug. 1651.

[62] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 419, 423-5, 454: 24 and 28 Aug. 1651.

[63] Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, II, 43.

east side of the town and captured Fort Royal, one of the outer defences of the town.[64] Two foot regiments each from Norfolk and Suffolk and the Suffolk regiment of horse left their counties to fight the Scots. Most of the Norfolk and Suffolk militias remained behind in their counties for local defence. Lothingland and the area around Yarmouth were of particular concern to the Council because of a possible design to land foreign forces there from Holland. On 2 September, it instructed the militia commissioners of Norfolk and Suffolk that a force of at least one regiment of foot should garrison Lothingland for a fortnight. It suggested that the force be drawn from both counties according to a proportion decided upon by Colonel Walton, the governor of Lynn, and Colonel Jermy, the Norfolk colonel of horse, who were jointly co-ordinating the security of the region. In addition to the foot, the Suffolk militia commissioners were instructed to send a troop of horse to Lothingland. The Suffolk militia commissioners were also instructed to hold forces in reserve to reinforce the garrison at Landguard Fort should that prove necessary.[65] For their part, the Norfolk militia commissioners were also instructed to hold forces in reserve to reinforce Lynn should it be threatened.[66] In Essex, a proportion of the county militia was also retained in the county for local

[64] *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 66, p. 1053: 4-11 Sept. 1651; Carey (ed.), *Memorials*, II, 354, 363.

[65] P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 19: 3 Sept. 1651; S.P. 25/96, pp. 490-1: 2 and 3 Sept. 1651.

[66] P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 32: 6 Sept. 1651.

defence.[67]

After Worcester the organization of the militia fell into neglect. The revived Militia Act expired on 1 December 1651, and the Council considered issuing instructions under which the militia commissioners continued in service.[68] At the end of January 1652, the Council decided to introduce a Bill concerning the reviewing of the militia, but this does not appear to have been done.[69] In 1652, the energies of the Council were drawn almost entirely into the conduct of the naval war against the Dutch, and since there was little possibility of the Dutch landing an invading army, the war did not call for the presence of local forces. In the localities too, especially in the coastal areas, all available resources were drawn into the manning and supply of the fleet and the numerous stresses and complications which attended a large naval presence.[70] To ward off danger from an enemy at sea, the local authorities restored gun emplacements and fortifications; and in Norfolk the county set up a special committee for the repair and maintenance of the county's beacons, and levied a rate on the county at large for which Maj. Robert Doughty, also a militia commissioner, acted as treasurer.[71]

[67] P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 73: 24 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 425: 24 Aug. 1651.

[68] P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, p. 84: 18 Dec. 1651.

[69] P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, p. 263: 27 Jan. 1651.

[70] Hammond, 'English Navy', pp. 149-74, 230-1, 253-5; Butterfield, 'East Anglia', pp. 154-7.

[71] Howell James (ed.) 'Quarter Sessions Order Book', pp. 52-3, 56-7, appendix I; N.N.R.O., C/S2/1, pp. 171, 191, 205-7, 379.

The general militia was next embodied in March 1655 to ward off the danger presented by the Penruddock rising in Wiltshire. Special militia commissions were issued on 14 March 1655, in response to the crisis occasioned by the rising which empowered those named to raise, train, exercise and put in readiness horse and foot under field officers appointed and commissioned by the Council. As the crisis passed, the justification for keeping the whole general militia embodied fell away, and the forces were dismissed after a short period.[72] During the invasion scare of September 1656, the Council proposed a scheme to raise special regiments in a number of coastal counties. In Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, regiments one thousand strong were to be drawn together against the projected invasion.[73] In fact neither the invasion nor the forces with which the government planned to meet them materialized.

One of the first concerns of the Rump Parliament, restored by the army in May 1659, was to re-establish the militia which had previously shown itself to be an essential defence of Parliamentary power.[74] On 24 May, the Council of State decided to consult the Militia Act and the papers of 1651 with a view to setting up a new national militia, and a fortnight later appointed a committee to draft a Militia Bill modelled

[72] P.R.O., S.P. 25/75, pp. 721, 723: 13 and 14 Mar. 1655; S.P. 25/76A, pp. 26-7: 14 Mar. 1655; W.C. Abbot (ed.), The Writings and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell, 4 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1937-47), III, 661-4; T.S.P., III, 292-4, 236-7, 247-8, 253, 284-5.

[73] T.S.P., V, 397-8.

[74] C.J., VII, 649.

on the previous Act.[75] The Bill was extensively amended and eventually passed on 26 July.[76] The Act was sent out to the sheriffs of the counties on 1 August with the instruction that the militia commissioners named in the Act begin meeting without delay.[77]

The level of the threat offered by Booth's uprising in early August 1659 was not immediately apparent. Rather than mobilize fully, it was suggested that each county should provide a single regiment of foot, one thousand strong, from its county militia. In Norfolk and Suffolk, the Council drew upon an organisation which had existed at least in skeletal form since the Rump's previous rule. In Norfolk, where the organization of the militia foot had fallen into abeyance during the Protectorate, no foot regiment was proposed.[78] With the escalation of Booth's rising, Parliament proposed a scheme for a full militia to be raised in each county. In early August 1659, the militia commissioners of Essex were putting the county in a posture of defence.[79] On the eleventh, Parliament made provision for the militia commissioners to administer the Engagement and issue commissions to militia officers in their counties who were not able to come up to the House to receive them in person.[80] On the twelfth, the House ordered that the militia forces

[75] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 13, 59, 63: 24 May and 9 June.

[76] C.J., VII, 726-9, 731-2, 734; A.O., II, 1320-42.

[77] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 48: 30 July 1659; Bodleian, Rawlinson C 179, pp. 261-2, 288, 306: 1, 5 and 6 Aug. 1659.

[78] Bodleian, Rawlinson C 179, p. 286: 4 Aug. 1659; C.J., VII, 749.

[79] Macfarlane (ed.) Diary of Ralph Josselin, p. 450.

[80] C.J., VII, 755.

which had already been embodied be incorporated with the county militia.[81] These measures paved the way for the Militia Commissioners to restructure the organization of their forces along the lines laid down in the Act by enabling them to do so without taking the existing forces out of service. On 29 August, Parliament resolved that the militia in the counties should be mustered,[82] but whether this order was acted upon is not clear. Major-General Lambert's coup d'etat in October threw the militia arrangements into disorder yet again. The Committee of Safety, which the army officers set up, attempted to institute some form of general militia but it was probably not put into effect.[83] One of the first actions of the Rump Parliament after it was restored again in December 1659 was to order the disbandment of all forces raised without its authority in the interim and to prohibit the raising of any further forces except by the Lord General himself.[84] The order was conveyed to the sheriffs of the counties on 3 January 1659.[85] The militia commissioners were thus effectively given a month to wind up their proceedings. On 23 February, after the return of the secluded members, Parliament ordered that the powers of the militia commissioners should cease and no further men, horses, arms and monies should be levied.[86] The restored Parliament immediately began a review

[81] C.J., VII, 757.

[82] C.J., VII, 770-1.

[83] P.R.O., C231/6, pp. 445-6, 449; Whitelocke, Memorials, IV, 337.

[84] C.J., VII, 797, 799, 801.

[85] P.R.O., S.P. 25/99, p. 1: 3 Jan. 1660.

[86] C.J., VII, 803, 822, 829; P.R.O., S.P. 25/99, p. 25: 26 Jan. 1660.

of the militia. The Act of July 1659 was due to expire on 1 March. A committee was appointed on 23 February, and introduced a Militia Bill on the twenty-seventh. The Bill was passed a fortnight later and received the Lord General's approval.[87] On 26 March 1660, the Council instructed the militia commissioners in the counties to send up full lists of the officers in their counties who had signed the declaration confirming the justice of Parliament's war against the King, as had been required in the Act. The commissioners were, however, ordered not to embody any forces, but to disarm those forces still on foot in their counties.[88]

The Militia Act of March 1660 was superceded by the calling of the Convention Parliament in April and the subsequent return of Charles II. The restoration of the powers of the lords lieutenant followed naturally. In July, instructions were issued by the Council under the royal prerogative that the lords lieutenant were to secure their counties for the King.[89] The terms and force of these instructions, however, were still not clearly defined. Militia Bills were introduced in the Convention Parliament in November 1660 and in the Cavalier Parliament in 1661, but with little success except for a declaration that the power over the militia was to be in the King's hands.[90] Eventually, in the spring of 1662, Parliament passed an Act to establish

[87] C.J., VII, 849, 855, 857, 860, 866-8, 871, 879-80; A.O., II, 1425-55.

[88] B.L., Addit. MS 22919, fol. 134.

[89] P.R.O., S.P. 29/8, no. 188: (July?) 1660.

[90] Western, English Militia, pp. 11-12; 13 Car. II, cap. 6.

the militia on a permanent basis.[91] In 1663 Parliament passed a further Act to remedy a number of deficiencies in the previous one.[92] Together, the 1662 and 1663 Acts provided a clear and authoritative basis on which the militia was to be raised. The Restoration militia as defined by these Acts took a general rather than a select form and followed in broad outline the Militia Act of 1650.

3.2.2 County horse and dragoons

The county horse and dragoons were provided by the more substantial property-holders. The cost of horses and arms meant that those who provided them and their riders were, by definition, higher up the social scale than those who contributed towards the county foot. Each county had a regiment of horse, and the individual troops were allocated to groups of hundreds within the county. A place of muster was appointed within each group of hundreds although, unlike the usual practice with the foot, officers and even soldiers were not necessarily raised from those hundreds to which the troop was allocated.

Before the Civil War, the Norfolk horse consisted of eight troops, each allocated to the groups of hundreds within the four militia divisions of the county. The troops generally exercised with the foot

[91] 14 Car. II, cap. 3.

[92] 15 Car. II, cap. 4.

companies of the hundreds to which they were allocated and both troops in the division were usually mustered with the foot regiment of the division.[93] By 1646, William Paston had been appointed colonel of the county horse, with Sir Neville Catelene as his major. In all, there were by then only seven troops of horse, which would indicate that the troops of horse were no longer strictly allocated to each of the divisions.[94] Norwich[95] and Yarmouth[96] each possessed a troop of horse in 1648, but these were not kept up after Pride's Purge. A captain of horse was commissioned for Lynn, however, in 1650;[97] and in 1655 it was reported that the arms from the horse troop were still in the magazine there.[98] In February 1650, Robert Jermy was appointed colonel of the horse regiment with Ralph Woolmer, previously lieutenant of the Norwich troop of horse, as his major together with three captains. There were also two captains of dragoons commissioned at the same time. None of these officers had commanded troops in the Norfolk militia in 1646.[99] Some of the horse were used to put down the Norfolk insurrection at the end of 1650,[100] but the horse regiment was not mustered as such in 1651. Robert Jermy was appointed colonel of one of the horse regiments in the

[93] Owens, 'Norfolk', pp. 71-2, map 4, p. 70.

[94] Bodleian, Tanner MS 96, fol. 133.

[95] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 a 6, fols. 62/65, 64v/67v, 65/68; Norwich city records 18 d (b), fols. 163, 162v, 161, 160v.

[96] N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 125.

[97] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, 1 Nov. 1650.

[98] T.S.P., III, 292-3. The original, in Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A 24, fol. 385, has 'backs and breasts'.

[99] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 51: 27 Feb. 1650.

[100] Mercurius Politicus, no. 26, p. 435: 3 Dec. 1650; Nicholls (ed.), Original Letters, p. 33.

force of four thousand horse and dragoons formed to serve under Major-General Harrison in April 1651, together with Thomas Warde, one of the captains of the Norfolk militia horse.[101] However, Norfolk troops served individually in the Worcester campaign. Two of the troops of horse and possibly a troop of dragoons as well marched with the Norfolk regiments of foot under Sir John Hobart and Col. Robert Wood.[102] They were probably disbanded shortly afterwards. In the latter half of March 1655, part of the regiment of horse was mustered under the command of Colonel Jermy, and orders were issued for the muster of the remainder.[103] The regiment was probably disbanded again shortly afterwards. When the general militia was re-established in 1659, Jermy was given command of one of the regiments of foot, and his place was taken by Brampton Gurdon, previously colonel of a Suffolk regiment of foot.[104] In 1660, Gurdon was succeeded by Sir Horatio Townshend, militia commissioner since July 1659 but also the leading Norfolk collaborator in Mordaunt's Great Trust. In the spring of 1660, Townshend drew up a scheme for a restored Norfolk militia in which he himself would be colonel of horse;[105] and he was subsequently given that command by the restored lieutenantcy. When the Norfolk militia was mustered in the autumn of 1661, the eight county troops mustered at each of the eight rendezvous. Norwich, Yarmouth and Lynn each supplied a

[101]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 177: 21 Apr. 1651; S.P. 25/65, p. 295: 21 Apr. 1651.

[102]Mercurius Politicus, no. 65, p. 1043: 3 Sept. 1651.

[103]T.S.P., III, 292-3.

[104]C.J., VII, 760.

[105]B.L., Addit. MS 41636, fol. 16.

troop of horse which were mustered at their respective towns.[106]

During the Civil War, Suffolk possessed a regiment consisting of seven troops of horse, and it served under its colonel, Brampton Gurdon, at the siege of Colchester in the latter half of 1648.[107] In 1650, Gurdon was re-commissioned as colonel of horse with John Moody as his major, and five captains. In addition, three captains of dragoons were commissioned in December.[108] John Moody and Robert Sparrow, one of the captains of horse, served as troop captains in Major-General Harrison's force of horse and dragoons from April 1651.[109] Capt. Anthony Barry's troop mustered at Sudbury on 22 August, and may have part of the force from Norfolk and Suffolk which was reported to be marching through Hertfordshire on 3 September.[110] By the time the militia was re-embodied during the crisis of spring 1655, Brampton Gurdon had moved to Norfolk, and he was replaced as colonel by John Moody. Of the remaining troop commanders, three, including Robert Sparrow, now major, Anthony Barry and Richard Maltward, had been troop commanders in 1650.[111] The commissioners for securing the peace ordered that the entire regiment of horse be mustered at Bury St Edmunds on 12 April.[112] When the Suffolk

[106]Dunn (ed.), 'Norfolk Lieutenantcy Journal', pp. 26-7; B.L., Addit. MS 11601, fol. 3v-4.

[107]Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex', p. 145.

[108]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, pp. 65-6: 21 Apr., 12 June, 10 Dec. 1650; S.P. 25/64, pp. 340, 443: 13 May and 12 June 1650.

[109]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 177: 21 Apr. 1651.

[110]P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, warrant: 30 Aug. 1651; Mercurius Politicus, no. 65, p. 1043: 3 Sept. 1651.

[111]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A23, fol. 231.

[112]T.S.P., III, 292, 294.

regiment of horse was re-constituted with five troops in August 1659, Moody, Sparrow, Barry and Maltiward were confirmed in their previous commands. Only one new troop commander, Thomas Sheers, was commissioned.[113] After the Restoration, there was one troop allocated to the western division of the county, and three troops to the eastern division.[114]

Like the other two counties, by the time of the Civil War, Essex possessed a regiment of horse. The colonel of the regiment in 1648 was William Harlackenden, and four troops of the regiment served at the siege of Colchester under Maj. Robert Sparrow.[115] In addition there was a troop of dragoons from the county under the command of one Captain Turner.[116] The county forces were disbanded after the siege, and when the militia was reconstituted in 1650, the six divisions of the county from before the Civil War were regrouped into three: the east, middle and west, respectively, to each of which the troops of horse and dragoons were allocated.[117] In February 1651, the colonels of the foot regiments in the eastern and middle divisions, Sir Thomas Honeywood and Col. Thomas Cooke were each commissioned as captains of a troop of horse within their divisions, and the colonel of the foot regiment in the

[113]C.J., VII, 759.

[114]B.L., Addit. MS 39246, fol. 5/4.

[115]Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex', p. 145; B.L., Harleian MS 6244, fol. 4v.

[116]Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex', p. 145.

[117]P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 576: 31 Jan. 1651.

eastern division, Col. Joachim Matthews, was commissioned as captain of a troop of dragoons.[118] In August, however, this arrangement was revised and two troops of horse and a troop of dragoons, under separate commanders, were allocated to the eastern and middle divisions.[119] It is not known whether the western division still had any dragoons allocated to it under the revised arrangement. Among the new troop captains was one William Harlackenden, possibly a relative of the Civil War militia colonel, whose troop helped to garrison Colchester after the Norfolk insurrection and was in service there from 2 December to 6 January. Harlackenden's troop was joined on 6 December for a fortnight by a troop of dragoons under Captain Copping, also from the eastern division.[120] All the four troops later took part in the general mobilization which preceded the battle of Worcester. Each pair of troops initially accompanied the respective regiments of Sir Thomas Honeywood and Colonel Cooke on their march to the rendezvous with Lieutenant-General Fleetwood's army, but on 24 August the Council of State ordered that one of each pair be sent back to guard the county.[121] During the security crisis of 1655, a troop under Maj. Dudley Templer mustered at Colchester with a strength of about eighty, and the soldiers were kept under arms for four days and then allowed to return to their homes on an hour's standby.[122] The other troops, under Templer's overall

[118]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 24: 26 Feb. 1650.

[119]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, pp. 24-5: 6 Aug. 1650.

[120]P.R.O., S.P. 28/332, warrant: 27 Dec. 1650, and 3 warrants: Jan. 1651.

[121]P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 73: 24 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 425: 24 Aug. 1651.

[122]T.S.P., III, 247-8, 253, 284-5.

supervision, were ordered summarily to muster in their respective divisions and were then dismissed.[123] There was no provision for horse among the county forces in 1659. After the Restoration, the county was divided into five sectors, and each probably had an individual troop of horse allocated to it.[124]

3.2.3 County militia foot

Each hundred in the counties generally provided a company of foot, and the hundreds in turn were grouped into militia divisions, each to provide one of the county regiments of foot. Soldiers were raised for the militia from the property-holders of the county according to fixed quotas. Those who served in the militia tended to be substitutes provided by those charged with militia arms rather than those charged themselves, although the immunity which service in the militia provided from impressment did give some incentive to those charged with militia arms to bear the arms themselves. Before the Civil War, and after the Restoration, commands in each of the county companies were often allocated to families in that area according to long-standing custom and even the field officers were often appointed on that basis. During the Interregnum, this practice was discontinued, but the local connections of company and regimental commanders still strongly influenced the

[123]T.S.P., III, 253.

[124]E.R.O., D/DQ 25, fol. 31v.

allocation of commands.

The pre-Civil War militia foot in Norfolk consisted of some thirty companies each of eighty to two hundred men in strength and drawn from one or more of the county hundreds. Each area within the hundreds provided a squadron of men for the hundred or company, and even individual parishes were assigned files of four to five men. Four or five companies were usually grouped together for muster purposes. The county as a whole consisted of four divisions, and the companies of the hundreds which fell into each division formed four regiments of foot.[125] During the Civil War the four divisions were retained, and in 1646, the Norfolk militia consisted of four regiments of foot under Sir Jacob Astley, Sir William D'Oyley, Sir Christopher Calthorpe and Thomas Knyvett, gentlemen from families who traditionally supplied officers for the county militia.[126] After Pride's Purge, considerable changes were made among the officers of the county militia, most of which had probably taken place by February 1650.[127] The commissions which the Council issued on 27 February to be taken down to the county by William Heveningham probably were simply to confirm those appointments which had already been made. Three colonels of foot were named: Sir John Hobart, Robert Wood and Robert Wilton; but the fourth was omitted. None of the company commanders of the 1646 militia had been retained except Robert

[125]Owens, 'Norfolk', pp. 69-79, map 4 opposite p. 70.

[126]Bodleian, Tanner MS 96, fol. 133.

[127]Whitelocke, Memorials, III, 147.

Doughty of Aylsham, who was now a major in Hobart's regiment of foot.[128] Despite the changes, the officers appointed were not all wholehearted supporters of the regime, and in May, disaffection was reported among the officers of one the the county regiments of foot.[129] The regiments were called upon to secure the county during the Norfolk insurrection.[130] At the end of August 1651, they were mobilized for the Worcester campaign. Hobart's and Wood's regiments marched out of the county, although they did not leave early enough to take part in the battle itself.[131] It is not known what happened to the Norfolk militia after 1651, and indeed there is no evidence that the foot were even mustered during the security crisis of March 1655, unlike their counterparts in Suffolk and Essex. In the single regiment of foot which the Council proposed to raise during the invasion scare of 1656, Colonel Wood was earmarked as commander for the regiment.[132] When the county militias were reconstituted in 1659, the number of foot regiments was reduced from four to three, and only one of the foot colonels, Robert Wood, was retained. Sir John Hobart was not re-appointed, possibly because his conservative views made him unsympathetic to the overthrow of the Protectorate. Of the other two colonels who were re-appointed, Robert Jermy had served previously as colonel of the county

[128]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 50: 27 Feb. 1650.

[129]P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 327: 28 May 1650. The regiment in question was that of Colonel 'Ward' (possibly a corruption of Wood).

[130]N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS 2994.

[131]Mercurius Politicus, no. 65, p. 1043: 3 Sept. 1651.

[132]T.S.P., V, 371. Mason describes Robert Jermy as colonel of the Norfolk militia in 1656 (History, p. 325).

horse regiment while the other, Edward Bulwer, had not held any command in the Norfolk militia of 1650. Robert Doughty was appointed as Bulwer's lieutenant-colonel, with another officer from the 1650 militia, William Stewart, as major. Thomas Toll, alderman of Lynn and previously captain in the Lynn militia, was appointed as Jermy's lieutenant-colonel. Apart from these and two of the captains in Wood's regiment, none of those named had previously held commands in the county militia.[133] In any case, it is unlikely that the Norfolk county forces were actually mustered in the form set out in the 1659 scheme, and none of the officers who held commissions in the Norfolk militia according to that scheme were reappointed after the Restoration. Many of the officers appointed in 1660 had held commissions in 1646, or were from families who traditionally supplied officers to the companies in particular hundreds. One of the colonels, Sir William D'Oyley, had been a colonel of one of the county foot regiments in 1646, and another, Sir John Holland, had commanded a county foot regiment before the Civil War.[134] Holland began to appoint his officers in the autumn of 1660,[135] and his regiment was mustered and exercised early the following year.[136] This procedure was repeated that autumn for Holland's and all the other

[133]C.J., VII, 760; P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 438-9: 15 Aug. 1659.

[134]The details of officers are provided in the muster lists of autumn 1661 (for detailed references see below).

[135]Walter Rye (ed.) State Papers relating to Musters... in Norfolk (Norwich, 1907), p. 234; H.M.C., Gawdy, p. 190; B.L., Egerton MS 2717, fols. 190, 194.

[136]Rye (ed.), State Papers, p. 235; B.L., Addit. MS 15858, fols. 234-234v; Bodleian, Tanner MS 177, fols. 38, 38v, 39.

county regiments, on Southampton's instructions.[137]

During the Civil War, Suffolk, like Norfolk, provided four regiment of foot. In 1648, they were under the respective commands of Cols. Sir Thomas Banardiston, James Harvey, John Fothergill and William Blois.[138] Sir Thomas Banardiston's regiment was called upon briefly in May to put down a riot at Bury,[139] and a month later, all four regiments were called out on the orders of the Lord General against the Royalist army which had invaded Essex. Despite an initial reluctance to cross into Essex, the Suffolk forces joined the Lord General's army besieging Colchester on 24 June, and participated in the siege of the town up until its surrender at the end of August.[140] The Suffolk forces were then disbanded.[141] In the re-organisation of the militia which followed Pride's Purge, the number of regiments was reduced from four to three. The first regiment formally to be recommissioned was that under John Fothergill, for whom a commission was issued on 12 June 1650. Commissions for two captains were issued at the same time, and subsequently further commissions were issued for a lieutenant-colonel,

[137]Dunn (ed.), 'Norfolk Lieutentantcy Journal', pp. 25-9; B.L., Addit. MS 27441, fols. 302-3; Addit. MS 11601, fols. 3-4v; N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS 21303.

[138]Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex', p. 145.

[139]E.R.O., D/DQ 18; Bodleian, Tanner MS 57, fol. 133; H.M.C., Seventh Report, appendix I, p. 26; Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 312; Butterfield, 'East Anglia', pp. 106-8.

[140]E.R.O., D/DQs 18; Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 338-9; Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex', pp. 156, 158; Gardiner, Great Civil War, IV, p. 153; H.M.C., Twelfth Report, Appendix IX, p. 26.

[141]Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 397.

a major and another captain.[142] Fothergill's regiment was probably raised from the Bury division, as had been the case during the Civil War.[143] On 6 July, commissions were issued for another regiment under James Harvey,[144] which probably, as during the Civil War, was drawn from the Ipswich division.[145] Also in July, four commissions were issued for single companies 'for the defence of the coast'.[146] These were subsequently constituted into a fully-fledged regiment of five companies under the command of Col. Humphrey Brewster, and the regiment was allocated to the Beccles division.[147] One of the companies from Harvey's regiment was added to Brewster's regiment in November, and one of the company commanders was changed.[148] Two of the colonels from before Pride's Purge, Sir Thomas Banardiston and William Blois, were not re-appointed, although Banardiston continued to be active as a militia commissioner.[149] The Suffolk militia was put on the alert during the Norfolk insurrection and embodied. In the Beccles division Col. Humphrey Brewster's and Maj. Francis Brewster's companies were in service for three days in early December,[150] and commissions were issued for the Ipswich division on 6 December.[151] The entire county force was

[142]P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 443: 12 June 1650; S.P. 25/119, pp. 65-6: 12 June, 16 Aug., 2 Aug. (sic.), 24 Oct. 1650.

[143]E.S.R.O., HD 36/2672, fol. 81.

[144]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, pp. 65-6: 6 July, 9 Sept. 1650; S.P. 25/9, p. 80: 9 Sept. 1650.

[145]E.S.R.O., HD 36/2672, fol. 81.

[146]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 65: 6 July 1650.

[147]P.R.O., S.P. 28/243.

[148]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 66, 9 Nov. 1650.

[149]E.R.O., D/DQs 18.

[150]P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, 2 warrants: 3 Dec. 1650.

[151]P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 45: 6 Dec. 1650.

embodied once again for the Worcester campaign. Fothergill's and Harvey's regiments were sent out of the county against the Scots,[152] while Brewster's regiment remained behind to guard the area around Yarmouth and Lothingland.[153] The county militia was disbanded after Worcester, but its organization did not completely disappear, and in the crisis of March 1655, the regiments were mustered.[154] Fothergill's regiment, which was ordered to muster at Bury St Edmunds on 12 April, already possessed commissions for its field officers by 21 March. Maj. Hezekiah Haynes testified to Fothergill's zeal in the conduct of militia affairs in his locality, and was of the opinion that the militia forces were in as good a readiness as any of those of Norfolk and Essex.[155] Whether Harvey's or Brewster's regiments were in as good an order is not known, but the organization as it had been established in 1650 still existed, at least in form.[156] Five companies of Brewster's regiment were called out in mid- August 1656 at the time of the invasion scare, and one of his company commanders, Capt.-Lieut. Thomas Chaplyn was permitted by the Norwich corporation to enlist volunteers for his company in late September.[157] There is fragmentary evidence that, during the later Protectorate, Fothergill's regiment, at least, continued

[152] *Mercurius Politicus*, no. 65, p. 1043: 3 Sept. 1651.

[153] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, warrants: 30 Aug., 6 and 19 Sept. 1651.

[154] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A 23, fol. 231; *T.S.P.*, III, 284-5, 292.

[155] *T.S.P.*, III, 236-7, 247-8, 292, 294.

[156] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A 23, fol. 231.

[157] *T.S.P.*, V, 492; N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 B 23, fol. 42.

to be exercised and mustered on a regular basis.[158] The continuity in the command of the Suffolk foot was preserved up to 1659 with the colonels once again unchanged and with substantially the same group of officers as had served in 1655. Ten of the fifteen company commanders were the same as those who had been commissioned in 1650.[159] The continuity of command did not survive the Restoration, and indeed it took several years for the restored lieutenancy to revive the county's militia organization. By 1664, however, there were new regiments of foot in Suffolk with Col. Sir Henry North's and half of Sir Edmund Bacon's regiment in the Bury division, and Sir Philip Cooke's and the other half of Bacon's regiment in the Ipswich division. There was probably one other regiment, which would have been allocated to the Beccles division.[160]

Essex possessed nineteen companies of foot before the Civil War, but it is not known how they were allocated amongst the six divisions into which the county was divided.[161] At the beginning of the Civil War there were three foot regiments in the county, under the respective commands of the Earl of Warwick, Sir Thomas Barrington and Sir Thomas

[158]W.S.R.O., Tem. 123, the accounts of Thomas Townshend: 1657. This is a significant fragment which seems to indicate that musters and exercises took place during periods of political stability and not only during crises.

[159]C.J., VII, 759.

[160]H.M.C., Thirteenth Report, appendix IV, p. 464; B.L., Addit. MS 39246, fol. 5/4.

[161]Quintrell, 'Essex', p. 129.

Honeywood.[162] By 1648, Sir Thomas Barrington had died and been replaced by Thomas Cooke of Pebmarsh.[163] When, in June 1648, a Royalist army crossed from Kent into Essex, the Essex militia was mobilized, but several joined the rebels, notably those from Warwick's regiment led by its lieutenant-colonel, Henry Farr; and many others of the county militia refused to appear in arms against the rebels.[164] Nevertheless, both Honeywood's and Cooke's regiments fought for Parliament.[165] When the militia was re-organized at the beginning of 1650, Honeywood and Cooke were re-appointed as colonels for the regiments of the eastern and middle divisions of the county, while Joachim Matthews replaced the Earl of Warwick as colonel for the western division.[166] The Engagement was reported to have been tendered, and men enlisted in Essex in early February.[167] The list of field officers was not finalized until 19 February, when the Council issued a revised list on the recommendation of the county militia commissioners. The changes made then were only marginal ones, and involved the removal of John Maidstone and John Guye as the lieutenant-colonels of Cooke's and Matthews' regiments respectively.[168] Maidstone was subsequently commissioned as captain of a troop of militia horse attached to Honeywood's regiment.[169] The

[162] Quintrell, 'Divisional Committee', p. 107.

[163] Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex', p. 145.

[164] Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex'. p. 232; Whitelocke, Memorials, II, 332, 395.

[165] Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex', p. 145.

[166] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 576: 31 Jan. 1650.

[167] Whitelocke, Memorials, III, 147.

[168] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 8: 19 Feb. 1650; S.P. 25/119, p. 24: 19 Feb. 1650.

[169] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 24: 6 Aug. 1650.

company commanders, eight of whom were commissioned by the Council in August and three more in December, had probably already been in service, and certainly not all the captains later to serve with the militia had been formally commissioned by the Council.[170] The three foot regiments were called out in December 1650, after the Norfolk insurrection, and remained on foot for a fortnight, although none of the companies remained in service for more than a month.[171] Two new captains were commissioned for Honeywood's regiment at that time and one for Cooke's.[172] The three hundred foot who garrisoned Colchester from the beginning of December came from companies belonging to all three of the county regiments of foot. They stood guard in rotation over the course of the following six months.[173] In the latter half of 1651, all three of the Essex regiments took part in the Worcester campaign. The foot were sent to the rendezvous under Lieutenant-General Fleetwood,[174] Colonel Matthew's regiment was among the forces initially assigned to protect London,[175] and the regiment served in Fleetwood's division at the battle of Worcester.[176] The other two regiments first remained in

[170]P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, p. 43: 2 Aug. 1650; S.P. 25/9, p. 11: 19 Aug. 1650; S.P. 25/119, pp. 24: 6 and 19 Aug. 1650.

[171]P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 27 Dec. 1650; S.P. 28/332, warrants: 27 Dec. 1650 and Jan. 1651; B.L., Harleian MS 454, fol. 113v.

[172]P.R.O., S.P. 25/15, p. 5: 13 Dec. 1650.

[173]P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, pp. 21-2: 1 Dec. 1650; S.P. 28/153, receipt: 23 June 1651; S.P. 28/227, warrants: 7 Mar., 23 Apr., 1, 2, 16 and 22 May; S.P. 28/306, warrants: (June?), 2, 3 and 12 July, 5 Aug. 1651; S.P. 28/332, warrants: 27 Dec. and (Dec.) 1650.

[174]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 388: 20 Aug. 1650.

[175]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 343, 352: 11 and 13 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/21, p. 24: 13 Aug. 1651.

[176]Mercurius Politicus, no. 66, p. 1053: 4-11 Sept. 1651; Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', p. 4.

the county, and then marched directly across country to join the English forces. At Worcester they were placed in the division under Majors-Generals Lambert and Harrison.[177] All three regiments were disbanded and there is no evidence of their being re-embodied until early 1655. In March 1655, two of the three regiments were mustered at almost full strength. Three companies of Honeywood's regiment of foot were mustered at Colchester on 16 March, and were kept on an hour's standby there for four days and then disbanded. It was reported that there was a reasonably good turn-out, albeit with a deficiency in arms.[178] The rest of Honeywood's regiment under his lieutenant-colonel, now Samuel Gooday, were mustered at Malden on the seventeenth, and Colonel Cooke's and the rest of Honeywood's regiment was mustered on the same day.[179] There is no mention of Matthew's regiment, but otherwise the force embodied was substantially the same as that of 1650. A county regiment of foot was designated for Essex in September 1656, but was probably not embodied.[180] Unlike Norfolk and Suffolk, no scheme for reviving the county regiments of foot was presented to Parliament in August 1659, although a single regiment under Sir Thomas Honeywood was proposed. Col.

[177]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 388-9, 439: 20 and 21 Aug. 1651; Mercurius Politicus, no. 65, p. 1042: 2 Sept. 1651; No. 66, p. 1053: 4-11 Sept. 1651; Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', pp. 3-4; E.R.O., Q/S Ba 2/78, petition of John Cranmer of Eastthorpe, husbandman; petition of Thomas Horne; petition of Christopher Ellin of Black Notley, with certificate: 1 Dec. 1651; certificate of Thomas White of Witham: 1 Dec. 1651; certificate of Henry Levitt of Much Hollar: 1 Dec. 1651. Cary (ed.), Memorials, II, 363;

[178]T.S.P., III, 247-8, 253, 284-5.

[179]E.R.O., D/B3/386; T.S.P., III, 253.

[180]T.S.P., V, 397-8, 398.

Joachim Matthews died that year[181] and Col. Thomas Cooke of Pebmarsh was no longer active in militia affairs. The Essex single regiment of militia foot, now under the command of Dudley Templer, was in service at the end of 1659.[182] In January, the restored Council of State ordered Templer to disband his regiment and almost a week later it was reported that this had been done.[183] The re-organization of the county regiments of foot after the Restoration followed the first meeting of the deputy lieutenants of the county in November 1660.[184] The first muster of the militia after the Restoration took place the following autumn. William Holcroft, captain of the company in the Becontree hundred, mustered his company at Great Ilford for one day at the end of October, but there was no attempt to exercise the soldiers that year. In the summer of 1662, Holcroft exercised his company for two days at Brentwood and mustered his company again the following spring. In the autumn of 1663, there was the first full regimental exercise at Epping which lasted for four days, and from then on regular regimental exercises took place roughly annually.[185]

[181]Quintrell, 'Divisional Committee', p. 167.

[182]Macfarlane (ed.), Diary of Ralph Josselin, p. 455.

[183]P.R.O., S.P. 25/99, p. 5: 5 Jan. 1660; S.P. 25/86, 10 and 14 Jan. 1660.

[184]E.R.O., D/DQ 25, fol. 32.

[185]E.R.O., D/DCv 1, fol. 2; D/DCv 4/1 and 4/2.

3.2.4 Borough foot

Each company of the borough foot was drawn from a group of parishes within the borough, and the officers were usually themselves members of the corporation.

The Norwich militia consisted of a foot regiment of six companies.[186] The colonel of the regiment from 1648 was Adrian Parmeter, alderman of the city, whom the corporation in May that year entrusted with a thorough review of the city's militia organization.[187] By July, the city militia was in secure enough hands for one of the city companies to be sent to Yarmouth to ward off the threat presented by the Royalist ships off the coast, and from then on each of the companies served in turn there for a period of eight days until the danger was past.[188] In November, the deputy lieutenants agreed to exercise one company a week in rotation.[189] After Pride's Purge, the exercise of the trained bands continued, but in January 1649, the deputy lieutenants agreed that each trained band should perform night watches, half a band per night, in-lieu-of the weekly

[186]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, fols, 163v, 162, 161v, 157 et passim.

[187]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 a 6, fol. 64v/67v.

[188]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 a 6, fol. 66/69; Norwich city records, 18 d fol. 162; Norwich city records, 18b, Ladyday 1648-Ladyday 1649, fols. 15- 16.

[189]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, fol. 160v.

exercises.[190] Marshalls were appointed for each company to apprehend defaulters whom the deputy lieutenants were then to fine.[191] New commissions for the Norwich regiment of foot were issued in February 1650, and were delivered together with those for Norfolk. Charles George Cocke, alderman of Norwich, who had already been active in the city's militia affairs, replaced Parmeter as colonel. His lieutenant-colonel and major, Thomas Baret and Thomas Ashwell, held their commands before Pride's Purge, as had two of the remaining three company commanders.[192] The other company commander, Nicholas Salter, had previously been an ensign in Major Ashwell's company.[193] In April the officers and other ranks of the regiment took the Engagement before the deputy lieutenants,[194] and their loyalty to the Commonwealth was demonstrated at the end of November when the regiment was called out to pre-empt and follow up the Norfolk insurrection.[195] There is no evidence that the regiment was called out during the Worcester campaign in the autumn of 1651, although it is quite likely that it was. It is also not known whether the city regiment of foot was mustered during the crisis of March 1655. As with the counties, the full general militia was re-established by the Militia Act of July 1659. Because of a mistake, the Militia Act did not reach the city commissioners, and the latter were

[190] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, fol. 159v.

[191] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, fol. 159-8v.

[192] Whitelocke, *Memorials*, III, 147; P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 51: 27 Feb. 1650.

[193] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 51: 27 Feb., 28 Aug. 1650.

[194] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, fol. 157.

[195] N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS 2994.

ordered to appoint officers from among those they considered to be politically reliable.[196] However, there is no record that the city regiment was embodied during the crisis of August 1659. Nevertheless, the organization continued to exist, at least in form, and to mark the Restoration of Charles II in 1660, the entire regiment was mustered and arrayed.[197] Little was done about re-organizing the city militia after the Restoration until early 1661, when the corporation appointed a committee to raise money for the regiment.[198] The regiment was mustered for the first time in the autumn,[199] but the companies allocated to the parishes of the city on a systematic basis only in October the following year.[200]

In 1648, Lynn possessed two companies of militia foot under the command of Capts. Thomas Revelt and Thomas Green, aldermen of the town, but they were probably disbanded after 1649.[201] In December the corporation decided that the annual grant of five pounds a year to each of the town captains should be discontinued,[202] and no commissions to the captains of the town's companies were issued by the Council in 1650.[203] In the spring of 1656, the companies were revived and placed

[196]P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, pp. 146, 161: 17 and 20 Aug. 1659.

[197]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 119v.

[198]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 a 6, fol. 218v/219v.

[199]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 a 6, fol. 224/225v; Norfolk MS 21303, fol. 5.

[200]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 13 b (1), fols. 2-2v.

[201]N.N.R.O., KL/C39/102, Mich. 1649-Mich. 1648, p. 39, and Mich. 1648-Mich. 1649, p. 25.

[202]N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fol. 271v.

[203]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, no reference.

under the command of Green and Thomas Toll, then mayor of the town.[204] Four drummers were taken into the employment of the town for the purposes of summoning the foot for muster and service. The militia was mustered and arrayed at the beginning of 1657 to celebrate the Lord Protector's deliverance from the Sindercombe plot.[205] The two companies were called out two years later during the security crisis of August 1659.[206] Toll was appointed lieutenant-colonel in the Norfolk regiment of foot under Col. Robert Jermy in mid-August, and thereupon temporarily gave up his command in the Lynn militia.[207] Toll and Green were confirmed in their commands in January 1660,[208] but, in April, both were replaced as captains by Ralph Thoroughgood and Henry Bell respectively.[209] In October, the town militia was re-organized under the particular supervision of Sir Horatio Townshend, the leading deputy lieutenant. New commissions for the officers were issued. The corporation confirmed Henry Bell in his captaincy, but replaced Ralph Thoroughgood with William Wharton.[210]

The trained bands of Yarmouth during the Civil War consisted of three companies of foot.[211] After the troubles in the spring of 1648, the

[204]N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fol. 480v; KL/C39/103, Mich. 1655-Mich. 1656, Mich. 1656-Mich. 1657; T.S.P., V, 313.

[205]N.N.R.O., KL/C39/103, Mich. 1656-Mich. 1657, pp. 29, 31.

[206]P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 50: 29 July 1659; N.N.R.O., KL/C7/11, fols. 19, 21.

[207]P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 446, 448: 16 Aug. 1659; S.P. 25/98, p. 149: 17 Aug. 1659; CJ, VII, 760.

[208]P.R.O., INDEX 8610 (S.P. 25/86): 23 Jan. 1660.

[209]N.N.R.O., KL/C7/11, fol. 41.

[210]N.N.R.O., KL/C7/11, fols. 55-55v; Norfolk MS 21303 fol. 8.

[211]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 123.

corporation ordered all its officers and soldiers to subscribe to the National Covenant.[212] However, the loyalty of the town companies was called into question when Royalist ships anchored off the town in late July.[213] To pre-empt the army's proposal to put a regular garrison in the town, the corporation increased the number of town companies to four, and in August increased the size of each company to one hundred and twenty.[214] The corporation was not successful in dissuading the Lord General from his intention, and after Pride's Purge, the command of the town companies was put in the hands of officers on whom the Council of State could rely to secure that town for Parliament. Commissions for the three companies were issued at the end of January 1650, and a week later it was reported that the soldiers of the militia had listed themselves and taken the Engagement. William Burton, the leading Independent in the corporation, was commissioned as major of the companies with two of his fellow alderman, Augustine Thrower and Isaac Preston as captains.[215] It is not known whether the companies were called out during the Norfolk insurrection, but almost certainly helped to garrison the town during the Worcester campaign. After the battle of Worcester, the town was garrisoned continuously by the standing army and the town militia companies were not raised again until the spring of 1656.[216] They then

[212]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 124-124v.

[213]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 125.

[214]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fols. 125, 127.

[215]P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 566: 28 Jan. 1650; S.P. 25/119, p. 51: 28 Jan. 1650; Whitelocke, *Memorials*, III, 147.

[216]N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 275v; P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 335: 14 Aug. 1657; S.P. 18/200, no. 1: 1 Jan. 1659.

remained embodied until 1659, when commissions for the three companies were re-issued. All three companies were called out at the end of July,[217] and, on 9 August, the Council issued commissions for a fourth company under the command of one of an alderman of the town, John Albertson.[218] After the Restoration, the town companies were reduced to three in number again, and new officers were appointed. The town militias put under the overall command of Sir Thomas Meadowe, with Thomas Greenwood and Thomas Puppel as his two captains.[219]

During the Civil War there had been a company of foot raised in the town of Aldeburgh. The company was revived by the Darby House Committee of 25 May 1648.[220] Capt. Thomas Johnson, who had previously commanded a troop of dragoons in the army of the Eastern Association, was commissioned as company commander.[221] Johnson's company was probably disbanded after Pride's Purge, and Johnson himself was brought before the Council's Committee for Examinations in November 1650 to answer charges which had been brought against him concerning his loyalty to the

[217]P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 50: 29 July 1659.

[218]P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 141: 9 Aug. 1659. Albertson was marked as an Independent amongst those of the assembly who were signatories to a loyal address to Richard, the Lord Protector in December 1658 (S.P. 18/184, no. 185). He resigned as alderman of the town in July 1660 (N.N.R.O., Y/C19/7, fol. 352).

[219]N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS 21303, fol. 8; Y/C19/7, fols. 382, 384. Meadowe had been one of the bailiffs in 1648, and was bailiff again in 1662 (Swinden, *Great Yarmouth*, p. 949).

[220]E.S.R.O., EE1/01/1, fol. 102.

[221]E.S.R.O., EE1/01/1, fols. 108v-109, 110-110v.

Commonwealth.[222] When the Norfolk insurrection broke out at the end of 1650, the militia commissioners at Ipswich ordered that the company under Capt. John Base, commissioned only the previous month as part of the regiment of foot under Col. Humphrey Brewster, be assigned to protect the town.[223] In early 1651, at the request of the corporation, the Council recommissioned Johnson, presumably now cleared of disaffection, and now one of the town's bailiffs, to embody his company once again for the defence of the town.[224] It is not known what became of Johnson's company after that, nor whether there was a militia company at Alderburgh after the Restoration.

Ipswich had possessed its own militia companies from before the Civil War.[225] In June 1648 the town sent its trained bands to join the rest of the county forces on their way to the siege of Colchester.[226] After Pride's Purge, the separate status of the town companies was confirmed, and commissions for Jacob Caley and John Brandling, both aldermen of the town, were issued in October 1650.[227] After the battle of Worcester, the towns militia arms were sold off,[228] and the town companies were not maintained during the Protectorate.[229] In August 1659, Parliament

[222]P.R.O., S.P. 25/12, p. 29: 2 Nov. 1650; S.P. 25/13, pp. 1, 16: 1 and 13 Nov. 1650.

[223]E.S.R.O., EE1/01/1, fol. 108.

[224]E.S.R.O., EE1/01/1, fol. 110; P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 66: 11 Feb. 1651.

[225]E.S.R.O., HD 36/2672, fol. 81.

[226]Everitt (ed.), Suffolk and the Great Rebellion, p. 115.

[227]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 66: 24 Oct. 1650.

[228]P.R.O., S.P. 28/307, receipt: 4 Oct. 1652.

[229]There is no mention of them in Haynes' correspondence of 1655 or 1656 (T.S.P., III, IV, V).

granted the town corporation's request for its militia to be re-established, and on the advice of Col. Humphrey Brewster, the Council ordered that two companies of foot be raised in the town.[230] After the Restoration, the companies remained in existence, and were mustered and arrayed in May 1660 for the proclamation of Charles II.[231]

During the Civil War, Colchester had listed and trained soldiers for the defence of the town under the command of Maj. John Langley.[232] These were incorporated into the county militia, and Langley was commissioned as lieutenant-colonel in Sir Thomas Honeywood's regiment of foot in February 1650.[233] No separate town militia was established during the Protectorate, and the forces mustered in Colchester during the crisis of March 1655 were part of the county militia. In early 1660, there was some discussion about reviving the town's own militia, and forces were approved for the town in February.[234] After the Restoration, the town once again possessed its own trained bands.[235]

[230]E.S.R.O., C6/1/6, p. 234; Bodleian, Tanner MS 52, fol. 121; P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, p. 472: 22 Aug. 1659.

[231]Everitt (ed.), Suffolk and the Great Rebellion, p. 126.

[232]Colchester, chamberlain's bills and vouchers: 1644-5.

[233]P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 24: 19 Feb. 1650.

[234]P.R.O., S.P. 25/86: 2 Feb. 1660.

[235]Colchester, assembly book 1646-1660, fol. 244.

3.3 Select Militias

3.3.1 Nature and development of select militias

The organization of the general militia provided the framework within which a much cheaper and more flexible type of force than the county and borough militias could be raised. The notion of volunteers was an old one, and indeed the original armies which both the King and Parliament raised in 1642 were organized on that basis.[1] However, the development of the general militia during the Civil War made possible a far more systematic type of volunteer force, and under the Protectorate and just after the Restoration, the governments of the time seriously considered the possibility of keeping on call a standing volunteer force as an alternative to maintaining a standing army. But this would have undermined the general militia organization by running directly against local interests, and was therefore politically unacceptable.

Soldiers, other than those on the establishment of first the Eastern Association and then the New Model, were generally called 'auxiliaries' or 'supernumeraries' and by 1647, Parliament found itself with more soldiers under its command than it could properly support. A substantial reduction in the number of those under arms was achieved during the

[1] Firth, Cromwell's Army, pp. 16-20.

winter of 1647-8, although the position in the spring of 1648 was once again reversed in the face of Royalist uprisings.[2]

Volunteer forces were raised once again during the disturbances of 1648 which culminated in the siege of Colchester.[3] On 13 July 1648, Parliament passed an Order for a special force of one thousand foot and five hundred horse to be raised and maintained out of the estates of those who had supported the Royalist army in Colchester under Lord Goring.[4] In fact this force was not raised and the money which had been advanced for it by subscription was later repaid. The proposal originating from the conference of representatives from the Associated Counties in August 1648, that a special brigade of two thousand five hundred soldiers to be placed under Colonel Rossiter, also came to nothing.[5]

After Pride's Purge, a proposal for raising a body of volunteer foot to protect Yarmouth and a number of points elsewhere in England was considered by Parliament and the Council of State, although it was not brought into effect.[6] In the autumn of 1650, proposals for a special volunteer regiment in London led to requests from Norwich for a similar

[2] Reece, 'Military presence', pp. 8-9.

[3] Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex', p. 145.

[4] H.M.C., Seventh Report, appendix I, 30; L.J., X, 373; Whitelocke, Memorials, p. II, 356.

[5] Holmes, Eastern Association, p. 222.

[6] C.J., VI, 262; P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, pp. 517-8: 10 July 1649; S.P. 25/11, p. 41: 14 Oct. 1650; S.P. 25/15, p. 14: 16 Dec. 1650.

body to be raised there;[7] and, in the wake of the Norfolk insurrection, special instructions were issued to the militia commissioners in the counties to empower them to maintain select troops of well-affected members of the general militias, and the arms and forces of those select troops were to be provided by those whom they had reason to suspect of disaffection.[8]

In 1651, with the ever-present threat of a Scottish invasion, the Council experimented with volunteer regiments supported by local subscription. In early April 1651, the Council considered an offer by the inhabitants of Swaffham in Norfolk, threatened perhaps by the fenmen, to form an association for local defence.[9] The Council itself, on 21 April, approved a set of six instructions to order and raise volunteer forces. The militia instructions of December 1649 were sent to the counties in the form of a printed pamphlet, and the Council added a further instruction that the militia commissioners were to present to the Council lists of well-affected volunteers together with the names of colonels, lieutenant-colonels, majors and captains to command these forces.[10] Meanwhile, the committee of the Council continued to revise

[7] P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, p. 67: 10 Aug. 1650; S.P. 25/12, p. 64: 8 Nov. 1650; B.L., Landsdown MS 1236, fol. 97.

[8] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 42: 5 Dec. 1650.

[9] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 225, 229: 5 and 7 Apr. 1651.

[10] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 294, 299-300, 303: 21 Apr. 1651.

the militia instructions.[11] When, at the end of May, the instructions were ready to be presented to the House, the Council left out the instruction it had previously added concerning the enlisting of volunteers. The Council had shifted from the idea of raising volunteers strictly within the framework of the general militia to that of forces to be raised and commanded on a more independent basis. Towards the end of June, the Council set out four propositions on which independent bodies of horse and dragoons could be raised: that the subscribers could nominate the officers but the Council would commission them, that the forces could be drawn out and exercised as often as they themselves saw fit, that those enlisted would, on the certificate of three of their commissioned officers, be freed from all other military obligations, and that they would engage for a period of six months' service.[12] Commissions were issued by the Council for a volunteer association consisting of a regiment of horse and a regiment of foot in Norfolk.[13] The precarious nature of the situation in Scotland provided the occasion for the re-confirmation of the militia commissioners' authority, and, on 1 July, Parliament gave the Council the power to instruct the militia commissioners as it saw fit.[14] At the end of August, two companies of foot and two troops of horse were raised in Essex but these were not

[11] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 27-8: 26 Apr. 1651; S.P. 25/19, pp. 70, 90, 100, 132, 138, 149, 152, 170: 1, 5, 14, 16, 20, 21 and 28 May 1651; S.P. 25/20, pp. 1, 11, 34, 62, 65: 31 May and 5, 14, 24 and 25 June 1651.

[12] P.R.O., S.P. 25/20, p. 65: 25 June 1651.

[13] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 167: 30 July 1651.

[14] C.J., VI, 594; P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 265: 1 July 1651.

raised by voluntary subscription; rather they were charged systematically on the disaffected property-holders in the county according to the special militia instructions of December 1650.[15] The Council gave the Lord General power to issue commissions as he saw fit for officers of volunteer troops and companies.[16] Immediately before Worcester, the Council considered the proposition for a troop of horse to be raised in Norfolk, presumably by voluntary subscription.[17] After Worcester, the Council ordered the issue of a commission to Colonel Walton to recruit a militia regiment, presumably of volunteers, from the area around Lynn.[18]

The next major experiment with a select militia took place under the Protectorate. The militia commissioners appointed during the security crisis of March 1655 were instructed to raise the county militia forces, with the proviso that the charge be born by the 'malignant and disaffected party'.[19] This policy was elaborated within a national scheme for a voluntary force to be raised, which would at once secure the county against the dangers presented by the threat of political disaffection, and help fill the gap caused by the reduction of the standing army establishment which was also being carried out at that

[15] P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 71: 21 Aug. 1651; Macfarlane (ed.), Diary of Ralph Josselin, p. 255. See concerning Maj. Dudley Templer's troop, below.

[16] P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 87: 28 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/96, pp. 453, 454: 28 Aug. 1651.

[17] P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 6: 30 Aug. 1650.

[18] P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 22: 6 Sept. 1651.

[19] Abbot (ed.), Writings and Speeches, III, 29.

time.[20] Commanders were appointed for select militia troops in each county, and instructions were sent out to them at the beginning of June.[21] In August the Council called a meeting of the officers of the new force at Whitehall to report on the state of their forces and be briefed.[22] At the same time, a committee of the Council reviewed the state of the militia and drew up further instructions.[23] The soldiers were then held on standby for the remainder of that year, and for the year following.[24] In February 1657, the Lord Protector ordered the captains of the militia to put their soldiers on the alert because of an imminent Royalist-Spanish invasion.[25] The new militia forces were once again put on the alert on the Lord Protector's death in September 1658.[26] Between the times that they were on the alert, the soldiers of the new militia returned to their civilian occupations.[27]

The new militia troops created in 1655 continued to exist, at least on paper, up until the end of the Protectorate. In the spring of 1659, the newly-restored Rump Parliament found itself in need of their

[20] Reece, 'Military presence', p. 12.

[21] P.R.O., S.P. 46/97, fols. 163-5v.

[22] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 217: 2 Aug. 1655; Firth (ed.), 'Clarke Papers', III, 47.

[23] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 218, 227: 3 and 9 Aug. 1655.

[24] T.S.P., V, 371.

[25] P.R.O., S.P. 18/153, no. 125: 19 Feb. 1657.

[26] P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, pp. 2, 6: 3 Sept. 1658; N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 84.

[27] At the Essex quarter sessions of Michaelmas 1658, the Grand Jury found a true bill of indictment against one William Allen of Colne Engin, butcher, for provoking one Robert Thornebacke of Braintree, glover, with the following words: 'I ... have a Boy shall fight with you ... or any Eight Pound Trooper' (E.R.O., Q/SR 377, fols. 22, 23).

services. On 11 May, Parliament instructed its Committee of Safety to raise an auxiliary force to forestall a possible Royalist invasion.[28] There was no indication of how the force was to be raised and who was to be responsible for it. Nevertheless, the new militia troops were embodied and put on the alert during the period of uncertainty; and, on 24 May, the Council instructed Major-General Disbrowe to bring before it a list of all the new militia troops in England.[29] On 6 June 1659, the Council ordered them to return to their houses and the following day discharged them for the time being from further service.[30] In July, with intelligence of a further Royalist conspiracy for an insurrection by Mordaunt's Great Trust, the Council once again called upon the troops of the new militia.[31] The Council met to review the state of the new militia on the sixth,[32] and on 9 July, sent out letters to the captains of the new militia troops to call their soldiers together.[33] Instructions were sent to the militia troops on 13 July.[34] To co-ordinate these forces, the Council divided the country into regions, each under the supervision of an army officer as in 1655. Maj. Hezekiah Haynes was given responsibility for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, together with Cambridgeshire, and this time with the addition of

[28] C.J., VII, 646, 649.

[29] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 13: 24 May 1659.

[30] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 48-9: 6 and 7 June 1659.

[31] On 6 July, Mordaunt urged the conspirators to make haste 'before the new Militia settle'. (H.M.C., Tenth Report, appendix VI, p. 211).

[32] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 143: 6 July 1659.

[33] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 25: 9 July 1659; Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 162: 9 July 1659.

[34] C.J., VII, 716; Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 168, 171-5: 12 and 13 July 1659.

Huntingdonshire.[35] To co-ordinate the new militia troops nationally, the Council set up a committee on the twenty-second, and on the twenty-ninth this was replaced by a Committee of Safety comprising all the army officers on the Council.[36] In mid-August, after the defeat of the Booth uprising, the Council began a review of all the select militia forces then on foot with a view to determining which should be disbanded.[37] The Council reviewed the list of militia troops on 30 August, but instead of ordering their disbandment, it recommended to Parliament on 1 September that a revised list of militia troops be retained.[38] However, there is no evidence that new forces were raised, and instructions a week later repeated the original order that the forces be disbanded and paid off from compositions under the Militia Act.[39] In many counties there were delays in disbanding the forces, because the money could not be found to pay them off.[40]

After the Restoration, the government attempted initially to set up a militia in each county under the royal prerogative. The King's private instructions to the lords lieutenant of 1660 made provision for the enlisting of volunteers. These would be formed into foot companies of up

[35] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 182: 14 July 1659.

[36] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 208, 210, 234-5, 237: 22, 25 and 29 July 1659.

[37] C.J., VII, 762, 770; P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 461, 463, 473-4, 489, 497, 501: 19, 22, 25 and 29 Aug. 1659.

[38] C.J., VII, 771-2; P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 504, 511: 30 Aug. and 1 Sept. 1659.

[39] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 525, 527, 532-3: 5 and 6 Sept. 1659; S.P. 25/98, pp. 193-5: 7 Sept. 1659.

[40] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 594, 604, 609, 614: 19, 20, 21 and 23 Sept. 1659; S.P. 25/98, p. 208: 20 Sept. 1659.

to eighty soldiers, and horse troops of fifty, with officers commissioned by the deputy lieutenants.[41] A comprehensive national scheme, very similar to that of the Protectorate new militia, was contemplated the following year. The rates of pay would be roughly comparable to those of the Protectorate new militia. There would be sixty-two troops in all, of which Norfolk and Suffolk together would provide a regiment of seven troops of horse under the command of the Earl of Suffolk, and Essex, together with Kent, a similar regiment.[42] The scheme remained a paper one, although the possibility of reviving the Protectorate new militia was considered in Norfolk.[43] In Essex, bodies of horse volunteers were used to secure the county in early 1661.[44] There is no evidence that volunteer forces were used in Suffolk during 1660 and 1661. The instructions to the lords lieutenant of 6 July 1662 ordered that lists be made of those who had previously enlisted as volunteers, so that they might be rewarded for their services and called upon again in times of emergency.[45] The Act of 1663 allowed the lords lieutenant to call up a portion of the county militia for a period of up to fourteen days a year in lieu of the musters and days of exercise for which those forces would otherwise be

[41] P.R.O., S.P. 29/8, nos. 183-9: [July?] 1660; Bodleian, Tanner MS 177, fols. 33-34v.

[42] P.R.O., S.P. 25/33, nos. 105-7, [March?], 1661; B.L., Addit. MS 37425, fols. 48-52.

[43] Dunn (ed.), 'Norfolk Lieutenancy Journal', p. 24.

[44] E.R.O., D/DQ 25, fol. 30v.

[45] Bodleian, Tanner MS 177, fol. 41; B.L., Stowe MS 856, fol. 44v.

liable.[46] This provision was put into effect at the end of 1664, perhaps to prepare the country's defences in the light of mounting hostilities with the Dutch, against whom war was declared three months later.[47]

3.3.2 Select militia horse

The select militia horse was drawn from the county militia horse regiments, and by and large was commanded by the leading officers of the county militia. Unlike the county forces, they were not raised from specific groups of hundreds but drew on volunteers from across the county. Nevertheless, they still tended to follow roughly the county militia divisions according to the places of residence of their commanders.

For Norfolk, on 30 July 1651, a troop of horse volunteers under Captain Garrett was incorporated with three other horse troops into a single regiment of horse for Norfolk and Norwich under the command of Col. Robert Jermy, who had also been appointed colonel of the first regiment of horse in the special force of three thousand horse and dragoons under Major-General Harrison.[48] It is not known whether the

[46] 15 Car. II, cap. 4.

[47] H.M.C., Thirteenth Report, appendix IV, pp. 463-4; B.L., Addit. MS 39246, fol. 313.

[48] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 167: 30 July 1651.

regiment was actually embodied, and certainly, since Jermy was away on service during that time, he would not have been able to take up his command. During the Worcester campaign, the Council re-considered the question of horse volunteers in Norfolk, and on 30 August Captain Garrett's proposal to re-enlist his troop of horse was brought before the Council, but whether the troop was actually raised is not known.[49] In 1655, three troops of horse were called into service under the respective commands of Robert Jermy, colonel of the county regiment of horse, Ralph Woolmer, his major, and Brampton Gurdon, who had ~~been~~ colonel of the Suffolk regiment of horse during the Commonwealth.[50] The three officers were re-appointed as commanders of the militia troops in Norfolk in July 1659.[51] Major Woolmer's troop was active in and around Norwich at the end of July and beginning of August,[52] and on the twelfth Woolmer was ordered to return to Norwich to protect the assizes which were to commence the following day.[53] In mid-September he was at Wymondham.[54] Col. Brampton Gurdon's troop was in service from 14 July until 14 September.[55] Colonel Jermy's troop, which had probably appeared in arms during that July and August, was again called upon in

[49] P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 6: 30 Aug. 1650.

[50] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 865: 11 Apr. 1656.

[51] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 162: 9 July 1659; P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 25: 9 July 1659. Letters were originally addressed on 9 July to Jermy, but on the thirteenth, a further letter was sent to Woolmer as well.

[52] B.L., Stowe MS 185, fol. 162; Bodleian, Clarendon MS 63, fols. 81-82v: [early Aug. 1659]

[53] Bodleian, Clarendon MS 63, fol. 79: 18 Aug. 1659 (the calendar gives this as 1 August)

[54] Bodleian, Clarendon MS 64, fols. 190-1: 16 Sept. 1659; B.L., Stowe MS 185, fol. 162.

[55] P.R.O., S.P. 25/99, pp. 24-5: 25 Jan. 1660.

November by the Lord General on behalf of the Committee of Safety to preserve the region from a local Royalist threat of which the Committee had received intelligence. By late December, the soldiers had been sent home again, but Jermy remained in readiness to recall them for service should the occasion arise.

The select militia in Suffolk took longer to come into being than did that in Norfolk. Auxiliaries from Ipswich fought against the Royalists in Colchester in 1648, but it is not known what happened to them after Pride's Purge.[56] Unlike Norfolk, there were no horse volunteers in the volunteer association set up in Suffolk in mid-1651, but in March 1655, two troops of horse were called out during the security crisis. The first was commanded by John Fothergill, colonel of one of the county regiments of foot who had also commanded the Suffolk volunteer regiment proposed in mid-1651, while the second was under Robert Sparrow, major in the county horse regiment of 1650.[57] On 25 October the Council ordered that a commission be issued for a third troop under Humphrey Brewster, colonel of one of the county foot regiments, to be raised on the same basis as those already in existence.[58] Brewster's troop, like his foot regiment, was based in the north-east section of the county. Lothingland as well.[59] When the Suffolk troops were called out in July

[56] Everitt (ed.), Suffolk and the Great Rebellion, p. 114.

[57] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 861: 11 Apr. 1656.

[58] Abbot (ed.), Writings and Speeches, III, 871-2.

[59] P.R.O., S.P. 18/124, nos. 11 and 18: 1 and 4 Feb. 1658.

1659, neither of the two commanders to whom the Council's letters were addressed had previously commanded a new militia troop, although Robert Sparrow had been major in the county regiment of horse of 1650. Probably on this occasion, Sparrow took over the command of the troop previously commanded by Maj. John Moody.[60] On the thirteenth, two further troop commanders were named: Col. John Fothergill and Col. Humphrey Brewster, both of whom had been captains of new militia troops in 1655. Fothergill's troop was active in securing the area around Sudbury and Bury St Edmunds.[61] Moody probably covered the area around Ipswich, and Brewster that in the north east of the county. In mid-August, the Council accepted the proposals of the minister of Eye, one Mr Barker, to raise a troop of horse volunteers, and Barker was requested to name officers for the Council to commission.[62] At the end of August, the Council accepted a proposal to raise twenty horse and dragoons at Ipswich.[63]

In Essex, two troops of volunteer horse and a company of dragoons were raised in 1648,[64] and volunteer horse under Sir Henry Mildmay together with volunteer dragoons fought against the Royalists at the siege of Colchester in 1648, but these were disbanded after the

[60] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 25: 9 July 1659.

[61] Bodleian, Clarendon 63, fol. 103: 3 Aug. 1659.

[62] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 194: 17 Aug. 1659.

[63] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 471, 474: 27 Aug. 1659.

[64] Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', p. 7.

siege.[65] There were no special horse volunteer troops in Essex during the early years of the Commonwealth period, but in August 1651, horse volunteers were enlisted in Essex for the Worcester campaign. On 24 August, the Council issued commissions for the raising of two troops of horse in the county.[66] One of these was under the command of Maj. Dudley Templer, a county militia commissioner.[67] In 1655, there were two troops of new militia in Essex commanded respectively by Sir Thomas Honeywood, colonel of one of the Essex foot regiments of 1650, and Major Templer.[68] Both troops were embodied again in 1659 by the Rump Parliament.[69] According to the recommendations of 1 September that year, three additional militia troops were to be raised in Essex under the respective commands of Col. Thomas Cooke, commander of one of the Essex foot regiments of 1650, Col. Henry Mildmay, and Lieut.-Col. Samuel Champneys, major in Joachim Matthews' foot regiment of 1650.[70] It is unlikely that these were ever actually raised, for when, in January 1660, the militia forces in Essex were disbanded, they included only two militia troops.[71]

[65] Lyndon, 'Parliament's army in Essex', p. 145.

[66] P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 71: 21 Aug. 1651; Macfarlane (ed.), Diary of Ralph Josselin, p. 255.

[67] P.R.O., S.P. 28/125, pt III, fols. 451-2; S.P. 28/227, warrant: 16 Sept. 1651.

[68] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 864: 11 Apr. 1656.

[69] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 25: 9 July 1659; Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179 p. 162: 9 July 1659; Clarendon MS 64, fol. 43: 24 Aug. 1659.

[70] C.J., VII, 272.

[71] P.R.O., INDEX 8910 (S.P. 25/86): 14 Jan. 1660. The two troops were kept on despite a specific instruction from the Council of State to the Essex militia commissioners on 17 September that all the 'troopes of [on?] Foote' in their county were to be dismissed. (S.P. 25/29, p. 585: 17 Sept. 1659; S.P. 25/98, p. 206: 17 Sept. 1659).

3.3.3 Select militia foot

The select militia foot were raised almost exclusively from the towns in the region; although various experiments were attempted with volunteer associations drawn more widely from the counties at large.

The idea of an independent volunteer company in Norwich dated from November 1648, when it was proposed that the sheriff should enlist up to sixty volunteers to maintain order in the city.[72] This company was instructed to turn out fully armed with muskets in mid-June 1651.[73] In this way, Norwich was a pioneer in an experiment which the Council attempted across the country as a whole at the end of that month.[74] The Norwich company of foot volunteers was incorporated with five companies from the county into a regiment of foot at the end of July.[75] The Norwich company of foot was revived in March 1655 when the Norwich city assembly ordered that one hundred and twenty well-affected volunteers be listed to be on call by the mayor and sheriff of the city.[76] Thomas Baret, alderman of the city, was commissioned by the Lord Protector on 27 May to be captain of the Norwich company, which was to consist of one hundred soldiers.[77] This was a forerunner of a

[72] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, fol. 160.

[73] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 a 6, fol. 115/118.

[74] P.R.O., S.P. 25/20, p. 65: 25 June 1651.

[75] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 167: 30 July 1651.

[76] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 4.

[77] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 9v.

nation-wide scheme. In Norwich, the original volunteer company of foot under Thomas Baret was joined by a second company under Nicholas Salter, one of the captains in the Norwich foot regiment of 1650.[78] Despite a decision of 21 April 1656 to reduce the size of the two Norwich companies,[79] they each remained at one hundred soldiers in strength, under the establishment of June that year.[80] The two companies attended the mayor and corporation when they proclaimed Richard as Lord Protector in September 1658.[81] In July 1659, four companies were ordered to be raised in Norwich. Two of the captains, Thomas Ashwell and Nicholas Salter, had commanded the two companies raised in 1655, and a third, John Knight, had been a lieutenant of Salter's company there. The fourth captain, William Dove, had not previously commanded a company in the city.[82] However, only two companies were called up at the end of July,[83] and by early August, there were still only two companies in existence, and the corporation decided to call upon the households of the city to keep watch in their wards instead.[84] On 9 August, the Council empowered Major Burton, commander of the Yarmouth militia, to raise a company of 'well-affected' volunteers to supplement the two existing borough companies.[85]

[78] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 866: 11 Apr. 1656; N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 84; T.S.P., V, 313.

[79] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 613: 21 Apr. 1656.

[80] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 899: 12 June 1656.

[81] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 84.

[82] Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 238: 29 July 1659.

[83] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 50: 29 July 1650.

[84] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 105.

[85] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 141, 9 Aug. 1659.

In the counties, the regiment of foot raised by the volunteer association for Norfolk and Norwich in July 1651 was put under the command of Charles George Cock, colonel of the Norwich regiment of foot. His major was Richard Hawes, lieutenant-colonel of the county regiment of foot under Colonel Wood, and the four other company commanders were also drawn from the county regiments of foot.[86] The regiment of foot which was raised by the volunteer association in Suffolk in July 1651 was put under the command of Col. John Fothergill, the colonel of one of the county regiments of foot. Whereas his county regiment was based in the west division of Suffolk around Bury St Edmunds, his foot volunteers were drawn from the county as a whole.[87] No volunteer association was proposed for Essex in 1651,[88] but in 1659, a company of volunteers was raised for the defence of Mersea Island.[89] In Colchester, proposals were made to raise a volunteer troop of horse. Parliament had considered these at the end of June 1659, but they were not taken up until February 1660.[90] In preparation for the return of Charles II, Lord Maynard, a Royalist peer of the county, raised a troop of volunteers and, on 24 May, was present with his troop at Gravesend to greet the returning King.[91]

[86] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 167: 30 July 1651.

[87] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 168: 26 July 1651.

[88] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, no reference.

[89] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, p. 449: 16 Aug. 1659.

[90] C.J., VII, 698; P.R.O., INDEX 8910 (S.P. 25/86): 2 Feb. 1660.

[91] H.M.C., Fifth Report, appendix I, p. 247; Burrows, Essex Militia, p. 122.

3.4 The Militia Commissioners

3.4.1 Development of the militia commission

The militia commission was the key institution in the local defence structure, and usually consisted of the government's most trusted local supporters. Not only was their co-operation and obedience essential for regional defence itself, but more generally, they were also the government's intermediaries in the areas under their jurisdiction. The commission acted directly under the instructions of the Council of State. Orders were conveyed down to the counties sometimes by Council messenger, but more usually via a militia commissioner of that county who happened to be at hand, or the messengers whom the militia commissioners employed to wait on the Council for orders. Alternatively, the Council made use of a local commander to convey instructions to the militia commissioners; these were either garrison governors entrusted with the wider supervision of the region, or, under the Protectorate, the major-general or deputy major-general for the area: in the case of the Eastern Counties Maj. Hezekiah Haynes. Leading militia officers also acted as channels for the transmission of orders. The relationship between the Council of State and the militia commission was enhanced by the fact that, throughout the period, there were invariably one or more militia commissioners from the region on the Council. The commission

generally contained the leading members of the commission of the peace. This enabled the militia commissioners to combine the defence and security of the counties with the routine administration of justice. Militia problems of maladministration, fraud, loss or injury could thus be dealt with by county procedures, and the authority of the militia commissioners as justices of the peace gave them the standing better to carry out the numerous security tasks which Parliament or the Council gave them. In the boroughs, the militia was under the control of the leading members of the corporations and the sheriffs of the boroughs in particular were closely involved in militia administration. The militia thus became, in effect, corporation business.

Under the Militia Ordinance of 1642, lords lieutenant had been appointed for each county with power to appoint deputy lieutenants.[1] The deputy lieutenants acted in terms of this instrument until 1648, when it was decided that they should be replaced by militia commissioners explicitly named in the Militia Ordinance which Parliament was preparing. The Ordinance, which was passed on 2 December, was repealed within a week, largely because many of the commissioners named in it were objected to by those who controlled Parliament after Pride's Purge,[2] but the principle of having statutorily-appointed militia commissioners was retained, and it became the pattern of the succeeding

[1] Gardiner (ed.), Constitutional Documents, pp. 245-6.

[2] A.O., I, 1233-52.

arrangements. In mid-April 1649, the Council gave the committee appointed to revise the Ordinances of 1642 and 1648 the additional task of drawing up lists of militia commissioners for each county.[3] It was the most critical aspect of the whole militia scheme, for the Council needed to be certain that the majority of those named be able and willing to serve the new regime in order to avoid the possibility of any militia commission becoming a lame duck body, or worse still, one politically antipathetic to the regime. In late June, upon the recess of Parliament, the M.P.s were instructed to draw up lists of names of those suitable to be included in the Act,[4] and at the end of July, a committee of Council was appointed to peruse the lists of names collected in order to appoint persons to supervise militia business in the counties, until such time as an Act could be brought out.[5] On 25 September, Parliament empowered the Council to appoint and give instructions to militia commissioners in each county,[6] and the names were later filled in the blank sections of the printed instructions which the Council read and approved on 30 November. The instructions required the commissioners named by the Council to subscribe to the Engagement, and thus ensured that those appointed be politically reliable. The commissioners were to meet on the first Tuesday of each

[3] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, p. 174: 11 Apr. 1649.

[4] C.J., VI, 244-5.

[5] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, pp. 570, 589, 617-9: 28 July, 3 and 8 Aug. 1659; S.P. 25/63, pp. 11, 52: 23 Aug. and 8 Sept. 1649.

[6] C.J., VI, 299.

month.[7] Warrants were issued to the sheriffs of each county on the thirteenth to ensure that the persons named received their instructions.[8]

The Militia Act of 1650 confirmed the appointment of commissioners, which had already been made under the order of 25 September 1649, and also provided for additional commissioners to be appointed either by Parliament or the Council of State. Like the previous militia instructions, the Militia Act of 11 July 1650 required the militia commissioners to meet on the first Tuesday of every month, with the additional stipulation that they report to the Council on their proceedings at least once a month, or more often should it be necessary.[9] Before those who had already been appointed were confirmed as commissioners, the Council wrote to the commissioners themselves on 16 August to request that they return a list of those who had carried out their duties under the instructions sent out under the order of 25 September, and those who had refused to do so.[10] In the months following, the Council made a number of additions to the commissions in the three counties. On 21 April, before the expiry of the Militia Act, the Council renewed the militia commissions for a further six months on its own authority.[11] In May the Council specifically instructed the

[7] S.P. 25/63, pp. 330, 338: 30 Nov. and 1 Dec. 1650.

[8] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 387: 13 Dec. 1650.

[9] A.O., II, 397.

[10] P.R.O., S.P. 25/9, pp. 5, 34: 16 and 23 Aug. 1650.

[11] C.J., VI, 556.

militia commissioners of Norfolk and Suffolk to continue meeting as before.[12] The statutory powers of the militia commissioners were revived by the Act of 12 August of that year.[13]

The militia commission was revived in a select form to meet the security crisis of early 1655.[14] The commissioners were ordered to meet as soon as possible, and those for Suffolk continued to meet up until June.[15] Towards the end of 1655, several of the commissioners who had been appointed to secure the peace in March that year were recommissioned to administer the extraordinary militia tax known as the decimation, and to carry out the Council's special instructions for the security of the counties.[16]

After the fall of the Protectorate, a new set of militia commissioners was appointed. During July 1659, names for the lists of commissioners to be included in the proposed Militia Bill had been reported to the House and were incorporated into the Act.[17] The Act followed the general model of the 1650 Act, with one or two minor changes. The commissioners were to meet as often as they considered necessary rather than at specified times each month as the 1650 Act had

[12] P.R.O., S.P. 25/19, p. 104: 6 May 1651.

[13] C.J., VI, 621-2; A.O., II, 551-2.

[14] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76A, p. 28: 14 Mar. 1655.

[15] T.S.P., III, 574.

[16] T.S.P., IV, 225, 271-2, 317.

[17] C.J., VII, 708, 716, 717-20, 724-9, 731-2, 734, 748, 759, 761.

laid down. To ensure that the commissioners were politically reliable, the Act prescribed that they renounce both Protectorate and monarchy before assuming their duties.[18] The supercession of the Rump's Council of State by the army's Committee of Safety in October 1659 meant that the militia commissions had once again to be revised. At the end of November 1659, the Committee of Safety appointed new militia commissioners for each county, headed by army grandees, to supercede the commissioners named in the Act of 26 July and to assume their powers.[19]

The Militia Act passed in March 1660 after the return of the secluded members was a transition between the Commonwealth militia and the restored lieutenancy. The Act contained a new list of commissioners who were no longer obliged to engage their obedience to Parliament without King and House of Lords, but rather to affirm the legality of Parliament's resistance to the late King and the binding authority of both magistracy and ministry.[20]

[18] A.O., II, 1320-42.

[19] P.R.O., C231/6, pp. 445, 446, 449; Whitelocke, Memorials, IV, 377.

[20] A.O., II, 1425-5.

3.4.2 The composition of the militia commissions

The militia commissioners appointed for Norwich under the 1650 Act were probably the same as the group of deputy lieutenants who had been in charge of the militia up until that time,[21] among the most influential of whom were Adrian Parmeter, alderman of the city and former colonel of the city militia, and Thomas Baret, another alderman of the city, as well as Charles George Cock, colonel of the city militia in 1650.[22] There were no commissioners for securing the peace appointed for Norwich in March 1655, but during the summer of that year, Thomas Baret was entrusted by the Council with the organization of the new militia in the city.[23] Thomas Baret and Nicholas Salter, both captains of the volunteer companies of foot in the city, were, together with Henry King, alderman of the city and one the most assiduous deputy lieutenants during the Commonwealth,[24] among the security commissioners for Norfolk and Norwich appointed in November.[25] After the overthrow of the Protectorate, Charles George Cock and his associates were once again appointed as militia commissioners for the city although there were a number of others, such as Christopher Jay, an alderman of the city, with decided Royalist sympathies.[26] Cock also headed the commission

[21] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, passim.

[22] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 51: 27 Feb. 1650.

[23] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fol. 9v.

[24] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, passim.

[25] T.S.P., IV, 705.

[26] A.O., II, 1330.

appointed on 15 December by the Committee of Safety.[27] Thomas Baret and Henry King were included in the list of militia commissioners contained in the Militia Act of March 1660, but they were balanced by a group of Royalist-inclined aldermen headed by Christopher Jay and Roger Mingay.[28] After the Restoration, Norwich had its own deputy lieutenant, although both the city and the county fell under the same lord lieutenant. Lord Richardson, also a deputy lieutenant for the county and colonel of one of the county regiments of foot, was the most senior of the city's deputy lieutenants, but day-to-day militia affairs were in the hands of Sir Joseph Payne, colonel of the city regiment of foot, together with Sir Thomas Rant, Christopher Jay and the city recorder, Francis Corie.[29]

It is not known who were the militia commissioners for Norfolk at the beginning of 1650. Several new commissioners were appointed in late August at the request of the commissioners already in service,[30] and Major Neave, who had been commissioned captain in Colonel Wilton's regiment that February,[31] was added to the county commission in late December.[32] In October, a number of commissioners were added to the county commission to represent Lynn, among them Lieut.-Col. Underwood,

[27] P.R.O., C. 231/6, p. 449.

[28] A.O., II, 1439.

[29] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 13 b 1 (c), passim.

[30] P.R.O., S.P. 25/9, p. 40: 27 Aug. 1650.

[31] P.R.O., S.P. 25/119, p. 50: 27 Feb. 1650.

[32] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 50: 25 Dec. 1650.

the deputy governor;[33] and in February 1651, others were added for Yarmouth, among them Major Blake, commander of the garrison there.[34] There were no commissioners for securing the peace appointed for Norfolk in March 1655, although Col. Robert Jermy, colonel of horse in the militia of 1650, and other gentlemen of Norfolk took care of the security of the county on the Council's behalf.[35] Jermy was among the commissioners appointed by the Council later that year, together with his two fellow militia troop captains in Norfolk, Maj. Ralph Woolmer and Col. Brampton Gurdon and several other officers of the county militia of 1650. For the towns apart from Norwich, Lynn was represented by Thomas Toll, alderman of the town and commander of the militia there, together with William Life, another alderman of the town; and Yarmouth was initially represented by Thomas Bendish, an alderman of the town, who was joined later by another alderman, Isaac Preston, captain of one of the town companies in 1650.[36] The list of militia commissioners for Norfolk in 1659 included the name of Sir Horatio Townshend, a prominent Presbyterian in the county, together with Sir William D'Oyley who later commanded a regiment of the county foot after the Restoration, but it is unlikely that Townshend or D'Oyley eventually took the Engagement and so would have been debarred from acting as commissioners. The colonels and field officers of the county forces, together with Thomas Toll and

[33] P.R.O., S.P. 25/11, p. 69: 18 Oct. 1650; S.P. 25/12, p. 28, 59: 31 Oct. and 7 Nov. 1650.

[34] P.R.O., S.P. 25/17, p. 58: 10 Feb. 1651.

[35] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76A, p. 34: 24 Mar. 1656.

[36] T.S.P., IV, 170-1, 184-5, 705.

Joshua Green of Lynn and William Burton of Yarmouth, who had administered the militia throughout the Interregnum, were all included, as was Lieut.-Col. William Styles, governor of Yarmouth.[37] The militia commission issued on 5 December 1659 for Norfolk was headed by the Lord General, Charles Fleetwood, but it is not known who the other commissioners were.[38] The list of militia commissioners in the Act of March 1660 included Cols. Sir John Hobart, Robert Wood, Brampton Gurdon and many other key figures of the county militia during the Commonwealth, but Col. Robert Jermy, who had identified himself so closely with the Rump, was excluded. At the same time, the names of Sir Horatio Townshend, Sir John Holland, Sir Ralph Hare, Sir William D'Oyley and Thomas, Lord Richardson, the five militia colonels in the county after the Restoration, were added. Joshua Green continued to represent Lynn, although Thomas Toll was excluded, and for Yarmouth, William Burton, who had had charge of the militia during the Interregnum, was replaced by George England and others of his political rivals in the town.[39] After the Restoration, the commission of lieutenancy for Norfolk was issued to Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, on 24 September 1660, and he in turn appointed a number of deputy lieutenants, the chief of whom was Sir Horatio Townshend, the colonel of the county regiment of horse, who had played such a large part in Norfolk for the restoration of the King, together with the colonel of the county foot

[37] A.O., II, 1329-30.

[38] P.R.O., C. 231/6, p. 446.

[39] A.O., II, 1439.

and several of the field officers of the county militia.[40] In September 1662, Townshend replaced Southampton as lord lieutenant.[41]

The deputy lieutenants of west Suffolk met continuously up until 1650 at the house of Sir William Soames, at Thurlow in the Risbridge hundred.[42] Prominent among them was Sir Thomas Banardiston of what was probably the most ancient family in the county.[43] Sir Thomas Banardiston and Sir William Soames continued to be active in west Suffolk during and after 1650,[44] as did John Clarke and Thomas Chaplin of Bury, Robert Dunkon and Jacob Caley of Ipswich, as well as the Brewsters of the Beccles area. The Suffolk colonels and their field officers were also active militia commissioners as was Captain Thomas Ireton, governor of Landguard fort.[45] The thirty or so commissioners appointed for Suffolk in 1655 were headed by Sir Thomas Banardiston, as well as John Clark of Bury, and Francis and Nathaniel Bacon of Ipswich. Brampton Gurdon, colonel of the county regiment of horse in 1650, and all three of the colonels of the county regiments of foot, were also appointed commissioners, together with a number of the field officers.[46] Most of these commissions were re-appointed in 1659,

[40] Bodleian, Tanner MS 177, fols. 29, 31v; N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS 6158.

[41] Bodleian, Tanner MS 177, fol. 40.

[42] P.R.O., D/DQs 18, passim.

[43] D.N.B.

[44] E.R.O., D/DQ 18, passim.

[45] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, warrants: 3 Dec. 1650 - 1 Apr. 1652.

[46] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76A, p. 28: 14 Mar. 1655; Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A 23, fol. 233.

except that Ipswich was then represented by Robert Duncon and Richard Sheppard; and Brampton Gurdon, who had moved to Norfolk, did not serve on the new commission. The list for Suffolk notably excluded Sir Thomas Barnardiston, and was headed instead by Charles Fleetwood, the Lord General, and William Heveningham, the Rump M.P., both of whom were on the list for Norfolk, together with several other M.P.s, and Robert Duncon and John Brandling for Ipswich, and John Clarke and Thomas Chaplin for Bury. Col. John Biscoe, governor of Lynn, was included on the Suffolk list, although not on the Norfolk one.[47] The commission issued for Suffolk by the Committee of Safety on 5 December was headed by the Lord General and Major-General Lambert.[48] Sir Thomas Banardiston was restored to the militia commission by the Act of March 1660 and William Heveningham was retained, together with his fellow M.P.s, as were John Clarke and Thomas Chaplin for Bury, now joined by three other gentlemen from that town. Robert Duncon no longer represented Ipswich on the county commission and the town was represented instead by the bailiffs and five other leading members of the corporation, among them Nathaniel Bacon. Orford was represented for the first time on the commission with the inclusion of its mayor. The most significant additions to the commission were Sir Edward Bacon, Sir Philip Parker and Henry North, all of whom were later colonels of the county regiments after the Restoration, and several other gentlemen of Royalist or neutral

[47] A.O., II, 1333.

[48] P.R.O. C. 231/6, p. 446.

political persuasion.[49] The settlement of the Suffolk militia after the Restoration was beset by disagreements between the deputy lieutenants from the east and west of the county about where they should meet. In early 1661, the Earl of Suffolk, the lord lieutenant, suggested that a town near the centre of the county would be most suitable,[50] but whether his advice was followed or not is not known. The Ipswich corporation sent a deputation to Parliament in February 1660 with a request for its own militia commission,[51] and in October 1662 requested the Earl of Suffolk to appoint a separate commission for the town, to be headed by Sir Henry Felton. The corporation did not, however, manage to obtain its own commission despite these efforts.[52]

The militia commission for Essex in 1650 was headed by Sir William Masham, Sir William Rowe and Sir Henry Mildmay although the two most active commissioners apart from Sir Thomas Honeywood, also the leading militia colonel, were William Harlackenden, the former colonel of the Essex horse, and Robert Crane, J.P. of Essex until 1652. Honeywood's two fellow colonels and a number of the field of the county militia were also active militia commissioners. For Colchester, Henry Barrington, the leading alderman of the town, and Arthur Barnardiston, the recorder, were

[49] A.O., II, 1443.

[50] B.L., Addit. MS 21048, fol. 1.

[51] E.S.R.O., C6/1/6, p. 240.

[52] E.S.R.O., C6/1/6, pp. 225-6, 261, 269-70, 294.

included in the commission.[53] The twenty commissioners for securing the peace of March 1655 were headed by Sir William Masham, then custos rotulorum of the county, and Sir Richard Everard, although Sir Henry Mildmay of Wanstead and Sir William Rowe were excluded. Sir Thomas Honeywood and his two fellow colonels of 1650 were on the commission together with some of the field officers, and other key members of the county militia commission during the Commonwealth, such as William Harlackenden. The commission also included Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, responsible for the overall security of the region. They also included among their number John Gurdon, one of the Suffolk M.P.s in the 1654 Parliament. Colchester was represented once again by Henry Barrington and Arthur Barnardiston.[54] Just over twenty commissioners were appointed to administer the decimation in Essex later that year. The group was once again headed by Sir Richard Everard, Sir Thomas Honeywood and several officers of the militia of 1650, as well as Henry Barrington of Colchester; although it no longer included Sir William Masham and Honeywood's two fellow colonels of 1650: Thomas Cooke of Pedmarsh and Joachim Matthews. In all, just under half of those who had been appointed in March 1655 were re-appointed at the end of the year.[55] The Essex list of 1659 was headed by Sir Richard Everard, Sir Henry Mildmay of Wanstead and Sir Thomas Honeywood, together with Colonel

[53] P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, pp. 43, 69: 2 and 10 Aug. 1650; S.P. 28/153; S.P. 28/227; S.P. 28/305; S.P. 28/306; S.P. 28/332.

[54] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76A, p. 28: 15 Mar. 1655.

[55] T.S.P., IV, 317, 320, 434-5; P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, 8 warrants: 31 July 1656 - 16 June 1657.

Thomas Cooke of Pedmarsh and the other gentlemen and militia officers who had managed the affairs of the militia throughout the period, with the exception of Col. Joachim Matthews who had died in 1658. Colchester was no longer represented by Henry Barrington, and his place was taken by John Shaw, the recorder of the town. Both Colonel Crompton, governor of Tilbury, and Colonel Salmon, commander of a regiment of foot stationed in the Eastern Counties, were also on the Essex list, as were Vice-Admiral John Samson and Maj.-Gen. John Disbrowe.[56] Disbrowe headed the commission issued for Essex on 28 November.[57] Members of leading county families which had been in charge of the militia before the Civil War,[58] notably Robert Rich, the new Earl of Warwick, William, Lord Maynard and Sir John Barrington, were included in the list of commissioners contained in the Act of March 1660. It also contained leading Essex Royalists such as the Earl of Oxford and Earl Rivers, and several others of those who were given charge of the Essex militia after the Restoration. Sir Thomas Honeywood was retained on the list of commissioners, as were several other leading members of the Commonwealth and Protectorate militias, but Col. Thomas Cooke of Pedmarsh and others were excluded. Colchester was represented by the mayor and recorder, and the mayor of Harwich was also on the commission.[59] The commissioners of March 1660 were superceded by the appointment of Aubrey de Vere, Earl

[56] A.O., II, 1324.

[57] P.R.O., C. 231/6, p. 445.

[58] Quintrell, 'Essex', chap IV.

[59] A.O., II, 1431.

of Oxford, as lord lieutenant of Essex in August 1660.[60] Oxford was delayed by illness from assuming his duties, and his first meeting with his deputy lieutenants was almost three months later. In November, Oxford appointed fourteen deputy lieutenants, half of whom had been listed in the militia commission of March 1660. The hundreds of the county were grouped into five divisions, and each deputy lieutenant was assigned to supervize two or three divisions, so that each division was supervized by a sub-committee of up to seven deputy lieutenants.[61]

3.4.3 The militia commission and the maintenance of security

The co-ordination of local security went together with the organization of local defence, and for the task, the militia commission was able to make use of both the militia forces for which it was responsible, and, to a certain extent, units of the standing army stationed in their localities. The commissioners were directly responsible to the Council, on whose orders they acted, and they worked in close liaison with local garrison governors. The militia commisioners also worked alongside the officers of corporations, county J.P.s and the county sheriffs in the maintenance of public order. During the Protectorate, and later under the restored Rump, special 'major-generals' were appointed to co-ordinate the security of each region. These major-generals were conceived of and

[60] E.R.O., D/DQ 25, fols. 30v-31.

[61] E.R.O., D/DQ 25, fol 32.

acted as links between the central government and militia commissioners of the counties.

It was not clear at the beginning of 1649 which authority in the localities was finally responsible for the preservation of local security. Towards the end of March 1649, the Council instructed the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk, together with the mayor of Sudbury, to prevent riotous gatherings which had assembled to cut down timber.[62] A more general instruction was issued just over a week later, when the sheriffs, together with the garrison governors, were instructed to prevent all riotous meetings liable to result in open rebellion.[63] On 3 April 1649, the Council of State instructed the sheriffs to keep watch on the activities of Royalists whom it suspected to be meeting under the cover of horse races, fairs and other recreations.[64] The sheriffs could not carry out this task on their own, for their own force, the posse comitatus, was a nebulous body,[65] and they would need to call on either the militia or units of the standing army stationed in their counties. In the spring of 1649, the Council ordered the bailiffs of Ipswich to investigate an incident in the town involving seditious words of a local surgeon, one Sherman, and to institute proceedings should

[62] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, p. 97: 20 Mar. 1649; S.P. 25/94, pp. 43-4: 20 Mar. 1649.

[63] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, p. 136: 31 Mar. 1649.

[64] P.R.O., S.P. 25/94, pp. 68-9: 3 Apr. 1649.

[65] F.W. Maitland, The Constitutional History of England (Cambridge, 1955), pp. 162, 277.

that be necessary.[66] In September 1649, upon an outbreak of Leveller agitation in Colonel Ingoldsby's regiment at Oxford, the Council issued instructions to the militia commissioners across the country to keep themselves informed of all Leveller activity and to act against them as should be necessary.[67] There were no Leveller disturbances in the Eastern Counties, although in early October there was a riot at Walthamstow which involved affronts to the minister of the parish. In this case, it was three Essex J.P.s, who were also militia commissioners, whom the Council instructed to investigate the matter and then report to a committee of the Council on their proceedings.[68] In November, the militia commissioners for Norfolk were entrusted with the case of one Richard Smithson, who had been detained for sedition and whose release the Council ordered.[69] It was still unclear whom, in the last resort, the Council was entrusting with the security of the localities. Among the instructions to the militia commissioners approved by the Council on 30 November, the fourth enjoined them to enforce the 'several articles, orders and declarations' which had already been issued against 'papists and other ill-affected persons' who might show themselves by word and deed to support the Royalist cause. In addition, the third instruction empowered them to make examinations upon oath, in their capacity as

[66] P.R.O., S.P. 25/62, p. 163: 9 Apr. 1649.

[67] Masarella, 'Politics of the Army', p. 242; P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 90: 19 Sept. 1649; S.P. 25/94, pp. 447-8: 19 Sept. 1649.

[68] P.R.O., S.P. 25/94, pp. 470, 491, 507: 5, 16 and 30 Oct. 1649; S.P. 25/63, p. 175: 24 Oct. 1649.

[69] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 224: 5 Nov. 1649; S.P. 25/94, p. 613: 5 Nov. 1649.

justices of the peace, into any conspiracies against the Commonwealth.[70] In early February the following year, the Council directed the Lord General to instruct all forces under his command in the counties to assist the militia commissioners in carrying out their instructions.[71]

With news of the signing of the Treaty of Breda between Charles II and the Scottish commissioners in early 1650, the Council took steps to prevent the recurrence of the regional uprisings which had taken place in 1648. On 8 May, the Council ordered those Essex J.P.s who were also militia commissioners to see that the hundreds adjoining Colchester assist in demolishing the fortifications of the town.[72] In Norwich, there was an incident of a seditious nature which the corporation reported to the Council on 27 May, and which the Council, the following month, brought to the notice of the judges who were about to go on circuit.[73] At Ipswich, the bailiffs reported to the Council in June that they had apprehended a number of suspected persons whom the Council then ordered to be released on their own recognizances.[74] The militia

[70] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 338: 1 Dec. 1649.

[71] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 615: 9 Feb. 1650.

[72] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 320: 8 May 1650. The demolition was not carried out until the following year, by which time the Norfolk insurrection had broken out, and so the county was subjected to a heavier burden than it would have incurred if the demolition had been executed beforehand. (S.P. 25/96, pp. 47, 70, 273: 15 and 25 Mar., 5 July 1651; S.P. 25/19, p. 103: 6 May 1651; S.P. 25/65, 159: 8 May 1651; S.P. 28/227, warrants: 24 Apr. and 3 July 1651).

[73] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, pp. 442, 471: 12 and 21 June 1650.

[74] P.R.O., S.P. 25/64, p. 487: 27 June 1650.

commissioners also took measures against external threats, and in early July, Col. Robert Jermy of Norfolk, who had been given the task of co-ordinating the security of the region as a whole, ordered the bailiffs of Aldeburgh to keep watch on their coasts in case of a possible enemy landing.[75]

The security powers of the militia commissioners were finally given statutory force in the Militia Act of July 1650. The aborted Militia Ordinance of 2 December 1648 gave the militia commissioners power 'to disarm all Papists and Delinquents and all such as [should] raise or cause, or endeavour to raise or cause insurrections, or invasions' and to secure or imprison those mentioned as they found necessary.[76] The Act of 1650 included this clause together with a further injunction, which had first appeared in the instructions of December 1649, empowering them to take examinations upon oath; but the power of summary detention given to the commissioners by the instructions[77] was now hedged with the qualification that suspects be 'brought to Justice' and that they be dealt with 'according to Law'.[78] In Norfolk, James Knapp was bound over by the J.P.s in quarter session in July for seditious acts.[79] At the end of July Robert and Francis Brewster together with Col. Robert Jermy, all militia commissioners of either Norfolk or Suffolk, were ordered, in

[75] E.S.R.O., EE1/01/1, fol. 111v.

[76] A.O., I, 1250.

[77] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 338: 1 Dec. 1649.

[78] A.O., II, 399.

[79] N.N.R.O., C/S1/7.

their capacity as J.P.s to examine and send up to the Council Sir John Wentworth and Sir Butts Bacon, gentlemen of suspected Royalist inclinations from the area around Yarmouth and Lothingland.[80]

When hostilities between England and Scotland led to the invasion of Scotland by the English army in July 1650, all Scotsmen in England naturally came under suspicion, and Scottish presbyterian ministers in particular were required to obtain special permission to remain in England. In August, the Council issued licences to allow three Scottish ministers of parishes in Essex to remain in England,[81] and licences for two others at Wells and Great Yarmouth in Norfolk.[82] After the defeat of the Scots at Dunbar on 3 September 1650, the militia commissioners were entrusted with further measures against potential political opponents of the regime. In September, the commissioners were ordered to watch soldiers returning from the service of the Prince of Orange, who might by that token have Presbyterian or even Royalist sympathies. All soldiers were to show passes from the customs offices at the port at which they landed, together with a certificate that they had taken the Engagement.[83] Even merchants moving from one county to another were subject to controls. In October, the Council issued a licence upon a recognizance of £1,000 to one Richard Barker, a

[80] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 312: 28 July 1651.

[81] P.R.O., S.P. 25/8, p. 78: 14 Aug. 1650; S.P. 25/9, pp. 26, 32: 20 and 23 Aug. 1650.

[82] P.R.O., S.P. 25/9, pp. 32, 39, 45: 23, 27 and 28 Aug. 1650.

[83] P.R.O., S.P. 25/9, p. 72: 5 Sept. 1650.

clothmaker of St Dunstan's-in-the-west for one Thomas Chichley, Esquire, to move from Wimpole Hall in Cambridgeshire to Feltwell in Norfolk, conditional upon the latter's good behaviour.[84] On 22 October 1650, Parliament entrusted the administration of the Engagement to the militia commissioners themselves. They were to see that the Engagement be tendered in each parish within their jurisdiction, and then return the names of all subscribers to the Commissioners of the Great Seal.[85] In early November, the Council instructed the militia commissioners of the counties to return lists of those ministers who either did not observe the day of Thanksgiving called by Parliament for 8 October to celebrate the victory at Dunbar, or who, by their preaching on that day, 'did deprave' the government.[86] In the Eastern Counties, action was taken against John Allen of Great Yarmouth, who had refused to publish the Act for the observance of the Day, and had preached a politically hostile sermon.[87]

The Council instituted general controls on movement after the Norfolk insurrection. On 2 December it issued a pass to one John Daniel and his servant to travel armed and on horseback to Ipswich and return again to London,[88] and a month later the Council issued another pass for John Hobart, a leading political opponent of the Commonwealth from Norwich,

[84] P.R.O., S.P. 25/10, p. 77: 3 Oct. 1650; S.P. 25/120, p. 48: 3 Oct. 1650.

[85] C.J., VI, 486.

[86] P.R.O., S.P. 25/12, p. 64: 8 Nov. 1650.

[87] P.R.O., S.P. 25/71, p. 3: 28 Jan. 1650; S.P. 25/17, p. 3: 21 Jan. 1651.

[88] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 24: 2 Dec. 1650.

to travel with his son to Flushing.[89] The continuing seriousness with which the government regarded the Royalist threat after the rising was reflected in its proposal to reward the discoverers of conspiracies with part of the confiscated estates of Royalist plotters although the scope which this might provide for personal vindictiveness was probably great enough for the Council not to adopt this proposal.[90] Another proposal discussed by the Council at this time was a report to be presented to Parliament for a prohibition of horse races, hunts, hawking matches and football games, all of which had been used by Royalists before the insurrection to cover conspiratorial activities. Two months later, the militia commissioners were ordered to put a prohibition into effect along these lines and they were advised to use the instructions of 30 November as a guide.[91] To facilitate the implementation of this order, the Council reissued the instructions in April with a covering order to put those dealing with the examination of conspiracies and the detention of suspects into immediate effect, with an additional instruction that the commissioners should keep a careful check on any stranger in their counties and report any suspicious movements to the Council.[92] The statutory authority for these instructions was the Militia Act which, on 28 January, had been renewed until 1 May; but the power of summary detention given in the instructions was not confirmed in the Act which

[89] P.R.O., S.P. 25/111, p. 17: 25 Jan. 1651.

[90] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 31-2: 13 Jan. 1651.

[91] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, p. 83: 10 Mar. 1651; S.P. 25/96, pp. 34-5: 11 Mar. 1651.

[92] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, pp. 299-300, 303: 21 Apr. 1651.

instead required offenders to be presented in the courts.[93]

The militia commissioners of Norfolk and Norwich assisted in the pursuit and capture of those responsible for the Norfolk insurrection at the end of 1650.[94] In Essex, Sir Thomas Honeywood, the county militia colonel, was entrusted by the Council with the securing of the area around Colchester,[95] and thereafter served as governor of the town until July 1651.[96] In the wake of the rising, the Council imprisoned several suspects from the Eastern Counties, among whom was Horatio Townshend, the prominent Norfolk Presbyterian.[97] By early 1651, some were imprisoned in London, and many more were held in custody in the counties. A number of suspects were secured by local officials. A party of travellers was detained by the bailiffs of Yarmouth, and all were released by order of the Council upon their own recognizances, to appear before the Council at a later stage, except Col. Arthur Slingsby and his servant, who were kept in safe custody and brought up to London in February under guard of Colonel Walton's soldiers to face charges of treason against the Commonwealth.[98] The Norwich commissioners detained one John King of Rushbrook whom they released on recognizance to appear

[93] B.L., 669 f. 15 (78).

[94] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 35: 14 Jan. 1651.

[95] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 22: 1 Dec. 1650.

[96] P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 14 Aug. 1651.

[97] P.R.O., S.P. 25/14, p. 55: 9 Dec. 1650.

[98] P.R.O., S.P. 25/17, pp. 11, 14, 26, 37, 77: 30 and 31 Jan., 3, 5 and 17 Feb. 1651.

before the Council at a later stage;[99] and on the twenty-fifth a similar recognizance was taken by them from one Edmund Tailor of Walcote in Norfolk.[100] On 5 February, the Council ordered the release of one Hue Merritt at Colchester on condition of his taking the Engagement and leaving for the East Indies.[101] In April, Council ordered its Committee for Examinations to review the situation of those prisoners from Norfolk and Suffolk still being held in London, possibly with a view to their release.[102] In July, the Council instructed the sheriff of Essex to proceed 'with utmost severity of Justice' against the prisoners named Elshot and Lincoln who were being held at Colchester.[103] All these cases evidence the caution with which the Council was acting against suspected persons. It was either releasing them on their own recognizances or charging them in a court of law. An exception to this rule occurred in Essex, where Capt. George Baldwin and Samuel Eldred, commissioners of the musters, were presented at the county's subsequent quarter sessions for the seizure of Richard Bower and Peter Rabye some time during March under a warrant issued by the county militia commissioners. Baldwin was forced to appeal to the Committee for Indemnity for the case to be stopped.[104] In the light of this and similar cases, the Council needed to exercise considerable

[99] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 59: 22 Jan. 1651; S.P. 25/120, p. 59: 4 Feb. 1651.

[100] P.R.O., S.P. 25/120, p. 59: 25 Jan. 1651.

[101] P.R.O., S.P. 25/17, p. 38: 5 Feb. 1651.

[102] P.R.O., S.P. 25/65, p. 266: 15 Apr. 1651.

[103] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 304: 22 July 1651.

[104] P.R.O., S.P. 24/32, Baldwin v. Bowers.

caution in the detention of the suspects without charge.

The invasion of England by the Scottish army at the end of July 1651 caused the government to revive the powers of the militia commissioners by the Act of 12 August,[105] and the same day passed an Act to prohibit all correspondence with Charles II and his party. The latter measure was to be proclaimed in every market town by the sheriffs of the counties, and parties of horse were to patrol the roads to see that no post be carried without warrant, and that any dangerous person be arrested and brought before the local magistrates.[106] Robert Jermy, colonel of the Norfolk regiment of horse supervised the security of Norfolk and Suffolk jointly with Valentine Walton, governor of Lynn. On the twentieth, the Council referred a report about the spreading of false rumours at Great Yarmouth to the Committee for Examinations.[107] To counter such rumours, Parliament resolved, on 27 August, to keep the various militia commissions informed about the movements of the armies for publication in their respective counties.[108] A fortnight after the battle of Worcester, the Council specifically instructed the militia commissioners of Norfolk that spreaders of false news should be proceeded against 'according to lawe'. [109] Active measures were taken to protect the

[105]A.O.. II, 551-4.

[106]C.J., VI, 620; S.P. 25/96, p. 346: 12 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/21, pp. 18, 39: 15 and 17 Aug. 1651.

[107]P.R.O., S.P. 25/21, p. 49: 20 Aug. 1651.

[108]C.J., VII, 7; P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 447, 451-2: 27 Aug. 1651.

[109]P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 57: 17 Sept. 1651.

security of the localities. The Colchester corporation considered the danger to that town serious enough for it on 23 August, to make special arrangements for watch and ward at each of the gates and throughout the town;[110] and the militia commissioners for the county, on orders from the Council, secured all the ordnance and ammunition which up until then had been in the hands of the Earl of Warwick and other private persons, and deposited it for safe keeping at Tilbury fort.[111]

After Worcester, the Council reviewed the security arrangements of each region. The militia commissioners at Norwich sent up to the Council a number of petitions from suspects whom they had detained there during the time of danger.[112] The powers of the militia commissioners revived by the Act of 12 August were those granted by 'any Act, Order or Ordinance of Parliament' for raising the militia,[113] and could thus at once have been considered to revive the powers granted by the Militia Instructions of 30 November which permitted detention without trial,[114] as well as those granted under the Act of 11 July 1650 which did not.[115] In the case of the prisoners at Norwich, the Council skirted the issue by ordering their release upon sureties of good behaviour.[116] More generally, Parliament ordered, on 9 September, that

[110]Colchester, Colchester assembly books, 1646-1666, fol. 57.

[111]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 424: 24 Aug. 1651; S.P. 25/22, p. 8: 31 Aug. 1651

[112]P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 32: 6 Sept. 1651.

[113]A.O., II, 551-2.

[114]P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 338: 30 Nov. 1650 (article iv).

[115]A.O., II, 398-9.

[116]P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 32: 6 Sept. 1651.

the Council of State should review the position of all those still in prison, and bring a selected number of them to exemplary justice before a High Court of Justice, presumably under the Act of 12 August prohibiting all correspondence with Charles II.[117] However, the Council decided instead to try such offenders by a series of courts martial before a number of officers from both the standing army and militia. The three Essex colonels and Robert Jermy of Norfolk were nominated to these courts martial, although none of the courts martial sat in the Eastern Counties.[118] At Ipswich, the Council instructed the Suffolk militia commissioners to commence proceedings under the Act of 12 August against one John Gurdon, a Scottish minister there, whom they were holding in custody upon a previous conviction for riot.[119] Nevertheless, in December, on a petition from Gurdon, the Council allowed him to return to his wife and children in Scotland upon his taking a bond for good behaviour.[120] Also at Ipswich, Samuel Goltie, minister of the key parish was, in January 1652, ordered to retract a sermon which he had preached on November the fifth the previous year and which had been taken to be an attack against the government. Goltie was also required to take the Engagement.[121] For some time after Worcester, there remained the danger presented to the Commonwealth by fugitives of

[117]P.R.O., S.P. 25/89, p. 64: 9 Sept. 1651; C.J., VII, 620.

[118]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 516, 582: 10 and 16 Sept. 1651.

[119]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 553: 25 Sept. 1651.

[120]P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, p. 39: 12 Dec. 1651; S.P. 25/97, p. 15: 12 Dec. 1651.

[121]P.R.O., S.P. 25/24, p. 33: 15 Nov. 1651; S.P. 25/66, pp. 104, 247-8: 22 Jan. 1652; S.P. 25/96, p. 77: 22 Jan. 1652.

the defeated Scottish army, and their Royalist supporters. The militia commissioners were ordered, therefore, to detain and thoroughly examine all stragglers who came into their counties, and during September they also secured the persons and estates of all Royalists, especially the estates of Roman Catholics who had proved Charles II's most trusted source of refuge and assistance.[122] In early October, the Council instructed the militia commissioners to conduct thorough examinations of all those who, although they had not actually risen for Charles, had nevertheless withdrawn to their homes or travelled to join the invaders in preparation for the general rising Charles had hoped to bring about.[123]

During the war against the Dutch, the attention of the local authorities was concentrated on securing the coastline against seaward attack, especially in 1653, when many naval operations took place off the east coast. In April of that year, the Norfolk J.P.s set up a committee to see that the county beacons were repaired and guarded.[124] In 1654, there was a slight resurgence of Royalist conspiracy, and Thomas Garrett, commander of the Norfolk volunteer troop, was active in securing the county during that year. In July he reported to the Lord Protector from Norwich that he had detained a Royalist suspect, one

[122]P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 507, 525, 542: 8, 13 and 19 Sept. 1651; Mecurius Politicus, no. 67, p. 1074: 11-18 Sept. 1651.

[123]P.R.O., S.P. 25/23, p. 18: 6 Oct. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 569: 6 Oct. 1651.

[124]N.N.R.O., C/S2/1, fol. 203.

Palmer alias Tewder.[125]

The dangers which faced the Protectorate in early 1655 led the Council to ensure that the security of the counties was put into trusted hands. The Council appointed special commissioners on 14 March to disarm and secure all those who might take up arms against the government.[126] Their instructions empowered them to take examinations about conspiracies upon oath, and to disarm and summarily to secure 'all papists or other disaffected persons'.[127] Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, in charge of the security of Eastern Counties, made sure that the justices of assize for the Norfolk circuit were given an armed escort. Haynes consulted closely with Col. John Fothergill and the militia commissioners of west Suffolk about security for the assizes which opened at Bury St Edmunds on 15 March.[128] Arrangements to secure that city during the assizes were made by the Norwich corporations in conjunction with the commander of Haynes' troop of horse stationed at Norwich; and a guard of twenty musketeers was mounted at the guild hall on 19 March.[129] On 20 March, Haynes reported to the Council that he had four of the 'most dangerous malignants' of Colchester in custody in that town, and two days later reported that almost twenty Cavaliers were

[125]T.S.P., II, 502; Bodleian, Rawlinson A 14, fol. 494.

[126]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76A, p. 28: 14 Mar. 1655; S.P. 25/75, p. 723: 14 Mar. 1655.

[127]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76A, pp. 27-8: 15 Mar. 1655.

[128]T.S.P., III, 236-7, 247-8.

[129]N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 16 b 23, fols. 3, 4, 4v; T.S.P., III, 292-3.

being detained at various inns in Norfolk.[130] Four days later, the Council instructed the J.P.s of the counties and corporations to assist in the control of meetings and the detention of suspects under the law.[131] Further suspects were taken into custody and examined by the Council. In terms of a set of five instructions passed by the Council on 1 June.[132] On 9 June, the Council detained for questioning, among others, Sir Frederick Cornwallis, a leading Suffolk gentleman,[133] and that same month, a list of several other suspects in the Eastern Counties was sent to Major Haynes for him to search their houses. Among those whose houses Haynes searched were Lords Maynard, Rivers and Lucas, all prominent Royalist peers in Essex.[134] William, Lord Petre, a Roman Catholic peer in Essex, was probably also detained at this time.[135] By the end of the month, there were reported to be thirty-five Royalists under arrest at King's Lynn.[136] Towards the end of August, Sir Peter Wentworth, a leading Suffolk gentleman, was arrested on the Council's orders.[137]

The tightening-up of security in the localities was co-ordinated

[130]T.S.P., III, 284-5.

[131]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76A, pp. 34 (Essex and Norfolk), 35 (Suffolk): 24 Mar. 1655. Those for Essex and Norfolk are virtually identical to that printed in Abbot (ed.), writings and speeches, III, 672-3.

[132]P.R.O., S.P. 46/97, fols. 152-153v.

[133]P.R.O., S.P. 25/112, p. 164: 9 June 1655.

[134]T.S.P., III, 574; Nuttall, 'Hezekiah Haynes', p. 200.

[135]T.S.P., III, 698.

[136]Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, III, 313 (I have not been able to find Gardiner's source for this statement).

[137]P.R.O., S.P. 25/112, p. 208: 24 Aug. 1655.

nationally. In March 1655, Major-General Disbrowe had been entrusted with the command of both regular and militia forces in order to put down and follow up Penruddock's uprising in the West, and in May this was formalized in a commission to him from the Lord Protector appointing him as overall commander of the forces in that region with the power of martial law.[138] The Council used Disbrowe's commission as a model for the other regions of the country, and on 9 August, ten regions of England were demarcated, each under the command of an army officer designated 'major-general'. [139]

During the course of August, a set of instructions for the major-general was approved with the Lord Protector himself present. The instructions stipulated that those with whom each major-general acted in the counties would be such 'as [he should] call and desire thereunto', that is, the latter would be acting at the major-general's pleasure.[140] These words were omitted in the instructions as they were finally approved on 21 September, indicating the different relationship between Disbrowe and his deputies from that which was to pertain between the major-generals in the other regions of the country and their local

[138]T.S.P., III, 221-2, 486, 556-7; D.W. Rannie, 'Cromwell's Major Generals', English Historical Review, X (1895), 476-7.

[139]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 227: 9 Aug. 1655.

[140]P.R.O., S.P. 25/75, p. 230: 10 Aug. 1655; S.P. 46/97, fols. 184-185v; S.P. 18/100 nos. 42 and 43: 22 and 24 Aug. 1655; S.P. 25/76, p. 246: 22 and 24 Aug. 1655.

associates.[141] On that day the Council revised the commission which had been issued to Disbrowe for its issue to the other regions. The designation 'lieutenant' was changed to 'major-general', and the latter officer was not to have the power of martial law, or even to be given any special statutory authority, but was to act simply by his 'best skill and power'.[142] To carry out his task, he would have to rely on the co-operation of the local authorities. On 11 October, commissions were issued to the major-generals of the eleven regions into which England and Wales had been divided. Charles Fleetwood, Lord Deputy of Ireland, was appointed to supervize Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex together with Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely, Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Oxfordshire.[143] A week later, Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, the commander of Fleetwood's regiment of horse, was appointed Fleetwood's deputy for the first five counties.[144]

The instructions which remained the major-generals' own responsibility were largely of a police nature. Each was given command of the military forces of his region 'to suppress all Tumults, Insurrections, Rebellion and unlawful Assemblies' which he was to do in conjunction with the local militia authorities. As in the instructions

[141]P.R.O., S.P. 18/100, no. 134: 21 Sept. 1655; Abbot (ed.) Writings and Speeches, III, pp. 844-5 (which reprints Mecurius Politicus, no. 289: 20-27 Dec. 1655, which in turn omits a number of key phrases).

[142]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 297: 21 Sept. 1655; S.P. 46/97, fol. 184; S.P. 18/100, no. 133: 21 Sept. 1655; Abbot (ed.), Writings and Speeches, III, 849-50.

[143]Abbot, Writings and Speeches, IV, 849.

[144]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 338: 19 Oct. 1655.

issued to the commissioners in March, the major-general was to disarm all Roman Catholics and others who had previously taken up arms against Parliament, and in addition, to keep watch on suspicious persons. The primary aim of the instructions, was to preserve security. The Council listed horse-races, cock-fights and bear-baitings as places of possible conspiracy. To this list they added stage-plays on 21 September. Measures were also taken to secure the highways against criminals and these were elaborated later with further instructions about the regulation of alehouses and vagrants. The instructions would at once maintain social order and at the same time allow the major-general and his assistants to keep track of any conspiracies against the State.[145] The Council set up a complex system of surveillance. A special registry was set up in London on 20 October which came into operation at the end of December.[146] The major-generals were to keep a record of the proceedings of the commissioners for ejecting ministers and schoolmasters, and they were to take bonds of good behaviour from all substantial householders categorized as delinquents and their servants. On the basis of this information, they were to draw up lists of delinquents in their counties and report their movements to the registrar on their arrival in London.[147] All listed persons were to

[145]P.R.O., S.P. 18/100, nos. 42 and 134: 22 Aug. and 21 Sept. 1655; Abbot, Writings and Speeches, III, 844-5.

[146]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 339, 440, 493: 20 Oct. and 26 Dec. 1655, 22 Jan. 1656; S.P. 25/76A, pp. 181-2: 26 Dec. 1655; S.P. 28/334, undated report by John Lambert, Gilbert Pickering and Walter Strickland.

[147]B.L., Addit. MSS 19516 and 34011-13.

report to the registrar on their departure from London, and the registrar then informed the relevant major-general accordingly.[148] All those who at any time had borne arms for the Royalist cause were subject to these controls.

According to the instructions passed on 21 September, certain categories of Royalists were singled out for particular penalties to be administered by the major-generals and their commissioners for securing the peace. Under the first head, all those who had been involved in conspiracies against the Protectorate were to be imprisoned or banished and their estates sequestered. Under the second head, those who showed themselves by word or action to be supporters of the Royalist cause were to be imprisoned with their estates left intact. Under the fourth head, Royalists without estate or vagrants were to be transported.[149]

On 3 October, a list of twenty-two gentlemen of Essex, twelve of Suffolk and thirty-four of Norfolk, detained variously at Mersea Island, Yarmouth, Lynn and London, were ordered by the Council to be set free upon their taking a specified bond. Bonds were accordingly taken from those on the lists during the course of that month, and they were released.[150] Sir Richard Willis, one of the Royalist Sealed Knot who had been in prison, was at the end of 1655 allowed to travel abroad for

[148]B.L., Addit. MSS 34014-15.

[149]P.R.O., S.P. 18/100, no. 136: 21 Sept. 1655.

[150]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 319-20: 3 Oct. 1655.

a month on the bond of £1000, a fact explained perhaps by the revelation in 1659 that Willis had been engaged in dealings with Thurloe's intelligence service.[151] Individuals were included on the lists compiled by the commissioners on often quite arbitrary or circumstantial grounds. In November, John Cleveland, former judge advocate of the Royalist garrison of Newark, was apprehended under the second head of the instructions by the Norfolk commissioners who deemed him to have shown himself an active supporter of Charles II. On the grounds that he had kept himself in residence at the house of Edward Cooke near to Norwich, known to be the resort of Roman Catholics and Royalists.[152] Another person apprehended under the second head was one Mr. Sherman, an episcopalian minister who had preached a sermon critical of the government before the corporation of Norwich.[153] One Anthony Aldham of Thetford was detained under the fourth head of the instructions by the Suffolk commissioners and imprisoned in the gaol at Bury St Edmunds at the beginning of December.[154] The business of those apprehended under the fourth head was considered by the Council the following year,[155] and in August, the Council called for lists of all those apprehended so that arrangements for their transportation might be made by the Council's Committee for Jamaica.[156] The Committee for Jamaica reported

[151] T.S.P., IV, 333; Underdown Royalist Conspiracy, p. 248.

[152] T.S.P., IV, 184, 216-17.

[153] T.S.P., IV, 216-17.

[154] T.S.P., IV, 271-2.

[155] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 574-5: 4 Mar. 1656.

[156] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, pp. 329-31: 14 Aug. 1656..

to the Council in early October, but it is not known what became of the scheme.[157] The commissioners also assisted with the pursuit of seamen evading impressment, as in February 1656, when the commissioners arrested fourteen absconding seamen, and conveyed them to the custody of the bailiffs at Great Yarmouth.[158] About same time, Col. Humphrey Brewster's new militia troop assisted with the impressment of seamen in Southwold.[159]

The work of the major-general and the commissioners for securing the peace was complemented by the county quarter sessions and the borough corporations. Orders for the regulation of brewhouses and for setting the poor to work were issued by the Lynn corporation at the end of March 1656.[160] At the Easter quarter sessions in Essex, orders for the regulation of alehouses were passed, which stipulated that licences were only to be granted to those well-affected to the government.[161] At the same sessions, a bill was brought against Philemon Brewer, one of the high constables of the Dunmow hundred who had refused, on political grounds, to execute warrants sent to him in the name of the Lord Protector. The bill against Brewer was not accepted but the grand jury did, however, approve an indictment against a labourer, one Christopher

[157]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 430: 7 Oct. 1656.

[158]B.L., Addit MS 18986, fols. 237, 247, 302.

[159]P.R.O., S.P. 18/124, nos. 11 and 18: 1 and 4 Feb. 1656.

[160]N.N.R.O., KL/C7/10, fol. 479v.

[161]Allen (ed.), 'Essex Quarter Sessions Order Book', p. 81.

Easterer, for seditious words against the Lord Protector.[162] The bailiffs of Yarmouth detained a number of prisoners on the Council's behalf in early 1656. One, John Lyme, who had been engaged with the Royalists of Colchester in 1648, was released on the Council's instruction at the end of May.[163] In the case of another, Tobias Barnes, who had been secured on the Council's instructions, the bailiffs themselves, in mid-1656, requested Major Haynes' permission to release him on security or have him sent to London as no charges had been brought against him.[164] In June, Col. Robert Jermy commenced an action in Upper Bench against John Armiger of Norfolk for seditious words against him as J.P., but Armiger was acquitted by the jury.[165] In July, Ralph Skipworth, a Norfolk Royalist, was permitted to leave England for Dunkirk.[166] The Essex commissioners also reported to the Council the case of a prisoner held by them, one William Holton, whose papers were read to the Committee for Prisoners.[167]

The task of supervising the preaching of ministers was peripheral to the work of the major-generals and the commissioners, but was a highly visible part of their activities. Haynes came into confrontation with

[162]E.R.O. Q/SR 361, fol. 91.

[163]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 137: 22 May 1655.

[164]T.S.P., V, 220.

[165]H.L.R.O., petition of John Armiger: 14 July 1656; H.M.C., Seventh Report, appendix I, p. 118; An Hypocrite Unmasked: or the Inside of Colonel Robert Jermy (n.p. 1659?). Armiger was later committed to the Tower, and later to Dover castle, and then escaped.

[166]P.R.O., S.P. 25/114, p. 21: 31 July 1656.

[167]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 161: 3 June 1656.

James Boatman, minister of St Peter Mancroft in Norwich. At the end of 1655, Haynes, with some difficulty, obtained an interdict forbidding Boatman from preaching within the city, and at the end of the year requested that Boatman, together with the bishop of Norwich, be rusticated.[168] Haynes was unsuccessful in obtaining the latter request, and Boatman evaded the interdict by continuing to preach at a church just outside the city boundary.[169] The influence of the major-general and commissioners could be somewhat more benevolent, as in the case of Nehemiah Rogers of Essex, who, on the certificate of the major-general and commissioners, was restored to his pulpit in October 1656, having previously been sequestered from it.[170] A similar request was made shortly afterwards for Hugh Williams of Low Layton in the same county.[171] A number of Quakers had been imprisoned by local authorities at Colchester, Ipswich and Bury St Edmunds, and in October 1656, the Lord Protector, present in the Council, ordered the major-generals to see that they be released and that a way be found to have their fines cancelled.[172]

The months preceding the elections to the second Protectorate Parliament in autumn 1656 gave the major-generals and the commissioners

[168] T.S.P., IV, 216-17, 257, 302.

[169] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, pp. 591, 642: 23 Dec. 1655 and 20 Jan. 1656; T.S.P., IV, 289, 297, 311-13.

[170] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 427: 7 Oct. 1656; S.P. 18/130, nos. 50-2: [7 Oct. 1656].

[171] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 460: 28 Oct. 1656.

[172] P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, pp. 422, 441: 2 and 16 Oct. 1656.

for securing the peace new responsibilities. One of these was the control of seditious literature. In early August, printed material was circulated in Norfolk which the authorities judged to be of a seditious nature. A certain Thomas Kett of Diss had received a large bundle of printed papers from an unknown source, which, for fear of being suspected of sedition himself, he immediately took to the county sheriff, and was advised to send it to Haynes; and, in another case, one of the Norfolk commissioners, Thomas Weld, reported to Haynes that he had had been sent twenty-four books of a seditious nature by one of his relatives. Haynes was able to do little more than instruct the commissioners to find out who was publishing the material.[173]

Little direct action was taken against political opponents during the elections, but at the end of August, the government, on intelligence of new Royalist invasion plans, took steps to secure the country against the threat. A proclamation was drawn up to require all those who had been in any way against Parliament to leave London and its environs by 20 September.[174] Exceptions to this order were made, however, as in February 1657, when Sir John Tyrell of Herne in Essex, was permitted to travel to London to pursue a case at law.[175] The commencement of the Parliament did not end the vigilance of the major-generals and the commissioners. At the end of the year Thomas Baret, one of the

[173]T.S.P., V, 297-8, 311-12.

[174]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, pp 930-2: [28 Aug. 1656].

[175]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 698: 10 Feb. 1657.

commissioners at Norwich, travelled around Suffolk to find out about conspiracies by the Presbyterians there, but no direct action was taken on his report.[176] In the spring of 1657, the constables of Saffron Walden, possibly on the commissioners' orders, seized three pistols, two muskets and a sword from the house of one Robert Rolfe.[177] During 1657 and 1658, security was relaxed and a number of number of passes were granted to various Royalists to travel abroad.[178]

On the death of the old Lord Protector, the captains of the militia troops were put on the alert, but there were no serious threats to security.[179] The overthrow of the Protectorate in April 1659, however, resulted in grave political instability and the Royalists launched a new initiative to restore Charles II. In response to the activities of John, Viscount Mordaunt, Charles II's secret plenipotentiary in England, the Rump Parliament's Committee of Safety, in May 1659, ordered that suspected persons be secured, together with their horses and arms.[180] Parliament subsequently set up its own Council of State which, on the

[176]P.R.O., S.P. 18/131, no. 32: 13 Dec. 1656.

[177]E.R.O. T/A 419/1, fol. 4.

[178]Thomas Beddingfield, Esq. (P.R.O., S.P. 25/114, p. 108: 18 Feb. 1657); (Sir?) William Hicks (S.P. 25/114, p. 79: 4 June 1657); Sir John Holland (S.P. 25/46, p. 117: 13 Apr. 1658); John and Ludowich Howard, Esqs (S.P. 25/46, p. 118: 29 Apr. 1658); Mrs Dorothy Paston and Mrs Frances Bedingfield (S.P. 25/46, p. 119: 4 May 1658); Richard Read of Witham, doctor of physic, Mr Henry Ayloffe of Bramstead and others (S.P. 25/114, p. 133: 6 Aug. 1658); John Paston, Esq., youngest son of Sir William Paston (P.R.O. 31/17/17/33, p. 256: 21 Dec. 1658; S.P. 25/114, p. 151: 23 Dec. 1658).

[179]P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, pp. 1, 2, 6: 3 Sept. 1658.

[180]C.J., VII, 646, 649.

twenty-fourth of that month appointed a Committee for Examinations to keep track of Mordaunt's activities.[181] On 22 July, the Council issued instructions to the captains of the new militia troops to secure and examine suspicious persons, and set up a committee to receive and consider the reports which the captains submitted.[182] On 29 July, the Council set up a Committee of Safety with the immediate task of supervising the seizure and requisitioning of horses and arms in the counties.[183] In Norfolk, horses were seized and listed by the militia troops.[184] The two Suffolk troops divided the county between them and, by 1 August, had searched the houses of most of the chief suspects in the county for horses and arms, and had made a number of seizures.[185] The two Essex troops were also active in securing their county. In late July, Maj. Dudley Templer, captain of one of the Essex troops, searched the house at Audley End of the Earl of Suffolk, a leading Presbyterian, and examined the Earl's steward.[186] A number of horses and colts belonging to the earl were seized but were returned after the Earl engaged that they would not be used against the Commonwealth.[187] On the same day, the Council gave instructions that the coach horses belonging to the Earl of Oxford should be seized.[188] Those of another

[181]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 12-13: 24 May 1659.

[182]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 208, 213, 236: 22 and 29 July; P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 48: 29 July 1659.

[183]Bodleian, Rawlinson C 179, pp. 237-8: 29 July 1659.

[184]H.M.C., Lothian, p. 86.

[185]Bodleian, Clarendon MS 63, fols. 103-104v; B.L., Stowe MS 185, fol. 162.

[186]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 222: 27 July 1659.

[187]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 264-3: 1 Aug. 1659.

[188]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, fol. 265: 1 Aug. 1659.

Essex peer, Lord Maynard, were also seized, although they were returned on his taking the Engagement on 2 August.[189]

Measures were also taken in the localities to control the movements and activities of suspected conspirators. On 1 August, the Council entrusted the securing and examination of suspicious persons to the militia commissioners named in the Act which had recently been passed,[190] and the next day ordered the J.P.s to assist the militia commissioners in this task.[191] At Yarmouth, Major Burton, the commander of the town militia, initially acted conjointly with Lieutenant-Colonel Styles, the garrison governor, to secure the town and its environs, and then took sole responsibility for the town after Styles left with his regiment for the north-west.[192] Several prisoners were detained and the Council gave instructions, a fortnight later, that the most prominent should be sent up to London for questioning, while those who were judged least dangerous should be bound over and take an engagement not to act against the Commonwealth.[193] Ralph Woolmer, captain of one of the Norfolk militia troops, searched the house of one Nicholas Rookewood at Kirby in Norfolk. Rookewood was detained at Norwich, and

[189]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, fol. 269: 2 Aug. 1659.

[190]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 262, 306: 1 and 6 Aug. 1659.

[191]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 269: 2 Aug. 1659.

[192]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 261: 1 Aug. 1659; P.R.O., S.P. 18/204, no. 5: 3 Aug. 1659.

[193]P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, pp. 141, 130: 9 and 16 Aug. 1659; S.P. 25/79, p. 432: 13 Aug. 1659.

then sent for questioning by the Council.[194] On 9 August, the Council issued instructions to the militia commissioners of several counties in the east of England, including those of Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex, to detain all those whom they suspected of complicity in the recent uprising, together with their horses and arms.[195] The Council later issued individual instructions first to the militia commissioners of Norfolk, then to those of Suffolk and Essex.[196] In Essex, Henry Mildmay was detained, but on 11 August, the Council ordered that he be released and his horses and arms returned to him.[197] A warrant was issued on 12 August for the detention of two leading Royalist figures in the Eastern Counties: the Earl of Oxford and the Duke of Buckingham.[198] A further two suspects detained by Sir Thomas Honeywood in Essex, Cooper and Fanshaw, were examined by the Council and released on their recognizances.[199] Maj. Dudley Templer, the other militia troop captain in Essex, also continued to detain suspects in Essex.[200] Suspects were also detained in a number of towns along the coast. At Southwold, three suspects were detained by Anthony Wainfleet, and were later ordered to be sent up to the Committee for Examinations for interrogation. On 1 September, a vessel suspected of carrying arms for Booth's rebels was

[194]P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 85: 7 Aug. 1659; Bodleian, Clarendon MS 63, fols. 81-82v: [early Aug. 1659]

[195]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 404: 9 Aug. 1659; P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 128: 9 Aug. 1659.

[196]P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, p. 455: 17 Aug. 1659.

[197]P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, p. 421: 11 Aug. 1659.

[198]P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, p. 421: 11 Aug. 1659. The Duke of Buckingham was later released on bail of £10,000. (S.P. 25/79, p. 629: 29 Sept. 1659).

[199]P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 453-4: 17 Aug. 1659.

[200]Bodleian, Clarendon MS 64, fols. 43-44v: 24 Aug. 1659.

captured by the inhabitants of Leigh in Essex and the captain, one Henry Millet, was subsequently detained in London for three months. Although he denied the charge against him, Millet had brought suspicion upon himself by outspokenly Royalist remarks.[201] In early September there were three suspects in the custody of the mayor and J.P.s of Harwich.[202] During September, the Council conducted a review of all those still in detention and ordered that those against whom no charges had been brought be released on security or parole, and their horses and arms be returned to them.[203] Nevertheless, the Committee for Examinations continued its work of tracking down conspiracies, with the help of the local militia commissioners and J.P.s;[204] and towards the end of September, ordered the militia commissioners in each county to compile lists of disaffected J.P.s, so that the commissions of the peace might be purged of all political dissenters.[205] After the expulsion of the Rump, Col. Robert Jermy continued to co-ordinate the security of Norfolk and Suffolk;[206] while security in Essex fell to the charge of Col. Dudley Templar.[207] In the months leading up to the Restoration, there was little co-ordinated effort to secure the regions. There is no evidence that the commissioners named in the Militia Act of March 1660

[201] H.M.C., Seventh Report, appendix I, p. 83; H.L.R.O., petition: 14 May 1660; with annexed statement: 18 Sept. 1660.

[202] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 192: 10 Sept. 1659; S.P. 25/79, p. 640: 3 Oct. 1659.

[203] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 527-8, 584-5, 622: 6, 17 and 26 Sept. 1659.

[204] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 623, 676, 661-2: 26 Sept., 10 Oct. 1659.

[205] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, p. 612: 23 Sept. 1659.

[206] Bodleian Dep. MS C 159, no. 89, (fol. 209). Portland I, pp. 689-90.

[207] Macfarlane (ed.), Diary of Ralph Josselin, p. 455.

actually met to supervise the security arrangements in their counties. The result was that control of local security fell largely into the hands of the gentry in the counties, especially those whom the Royalists had recruited for their projected militia organization, and in the boroughs, to the corporations. There was little central direction until early autumn.

The lords lieutenant who were commissioned for the counties in early autumn began to take steps to restore order in their localities towards the end of 1660. In Norfolk, the lord lieutenant, the Earl of Southampton, ordered his deputy lieutenants, in late 1660, to take precautions against insurrectionary activities. The deputy lieutenants were to make searches for arms and ammunition in the hands of suspected persons.[208] After the Venner uprising, Southampton warned his deputy lieutenants to be careful lest 'Fyery spirits', such as had been active in London, should cause disturbances in Norfolk too. To prevent this, they were to disarm all disaffected persons and tender to them the oath of allegiance and supremacy.[209] A number of suspected persons were imprisoned, but at the beginning of April, the deputy lieutenants reported to Southampton that only eight ringleaders, who had been kept in prison by order of the justices at the last assizes, were still in custody, and they were awaiting examination at the next quarter

[208]Bodleian, Tanner MS 177, fols. 36-36v.

[209]Bodleian, Tanner MS 177, fol. 37v.

sessions.[210] In Suffolk, the deputy lieutenants did not begin meeting until well into 1661, and nothing is known about measures for securing the county in the intervening period. In the autumn of 1661, the Earl of Suffolk, the Lord Lieutenant, passed on an order from the Council for taking precautions against conspiracy and sedition.[211] In Essex, the Earl of Oxford, the lord lieutenant, set about securing the county for the King. On the eve of the unsuccessful Venner uprising in London in January 1661, Oxford warned his deputy lieutenants about some 'desperate sectarys' who were in correspondence with those attempting an uprising in London and he feared that a sudden outbreak might occur in Essex as well. They were therefore to scour the county for sectarian 'vermine', and to imprison and disarm all suspects.[212] Since Oxford, in terms of his commission, had the power of martial law according to which he or his deputies could summarily try and execute offenders 'according to discretion', this was virtually a carte blanche, for a local reign of terror.[213] After the Venner rising, Oxford once again instructed his deputy lieutenants to secure all those suspected of being 'leaders and stirrers up of multitudes'.[214] Whether the drastic means placed at the disposal of Oxford and his deputies was used is not known.

[210]Dunn (ed.), 'Norfolk Lieutenancy Journal', p. 24.

[211]B.L. Addit. MS 21048, fol. 5.

[212]E.R.O., D/DQ 25, fol. 33v.

[213]E.R.O., D/DQ 25, fol. 30v.

[214]E.R.O., D/DQ 25, fol. 34v.

3.5 Militia Finances

3.5.1 Introduction

Militia finances were administered by the militia commissioners themselves through their treasurer, who was usually also the receiver-general of the county. The system operated at two levels: a central fund controlled directly by the militia commissioners, and the direct provision of men, houses, arms and pay by the contributors on whom militia rates fell. In the case of the select militia, the two levels were conflated, and the entire force was paid out of the central fund.

3.5.2 Ratings for horse and arms

The direct provision of men, horses and arms by the property-holders of the counties was the basis on which the militia rested. This was clearly seen in the case of the general militias for which the ratings were made; but the allocations were not only made use of for that purpose but were drawn upon in indirect ways to raise and supply select militias.

The Ordinance of 1644 for putting the Associated Counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex and a number of others into a posture of defence[1] set

[1] A.O., I, 462-5.

out a statutory rate for the first time since the Marian Militia Acts had been repealed in 1604.[2] The ratings were to be made for each parish according to a list which was to be drawn up by the constables of all property- holders within the parish with £100 or more in land or goods. Those listed were then to supply horse, dragoon or foot according to a fixed rule. The Ordinance left open the question of non- resident property-holders. If lands in a particular parish were held by mainly absentee landlords, the amount assessed could vary greatly depending on whether the value of the lands was determined by the parish in which they lay, or by the parish where their owner lived.[3] However, the principle that not just inhabitants but occupiers of land should be rated for parish purposes had been embodied in the 1597 Act for the relief of the poor, and not long after this, the Norfolk deputy lieutenants had begun to apply this principle to county military levies.[4] The ratings under the 1644 Ordinance were probably also made upon the owners and occupiers of property within each parish.

Like the 1644 Ordinance, the Ordinance of 2 December 1648 set out a fixed scale of rates, although these were marginally less strict than the earlier ones;[5] but since the Ordinance of December 1648 was revoked shortly afterwards, the rates of the posture of defence remained

[2] 4 and 5 Phil. and Mar., caps. 2 and 3; Hassell Smith, 'Militia rates', p. 104.

[3] A.O., I, 462-3.

[4] Hassell Smith, 'Militia rates', pp. 103-4.

[5] A.O., I, 1248-9.

in force. In January 1649, Thomas Meade of Farnham in Essex paid one shilling and sixpence to a trained man for exercising;[6] and throughout 1649, the Essex county committee exacted fines on those who defaulted in the provision of men horses and arms under the 1644 Ordinance,[7] as did the Norwich deputy lieutenants.[8] The militia instructions issued by the Council in December stipulated that charges be made for horse and foot; although it did not lay down any rates according to which charges were to be made, because that was still under consideration.[9] The 1650 Act set out a clear scale according to which the militia commissioners were to charge property-holders an annual income of one hundred pounds or more, for horse and arms, as had the 1644 and 1648 Ordinances. The Act specified that horse and arms be charged in the same locality as the property-holders' normal place of residence.[10] The arrangement was backed up with an elaborate array of sanctions to be imposed by the militia commissioners upon defaulting contributors. Lord Grey in his report to Parliament on the Council's behalf on 12 August, made clear that all estates should be charged with horse and foot, and the forces would be allocated to the counties in which the owners of those estates resided.[11] The lands in Essex which belonged to Elizabeth, the widow of Arthur Lord Capell were, in September 1650, charged to the militia of

[6] E.R.O., D/DTw A1, fol. 241.

[7] B.L., Harleian MS 6244, passim.

[8] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 18 d, passim.

[9] P.R.O., S.P. 25/63, p. 338: 1 Dec. 1649.

[10] A.O., II, 399-400.

[11] P.R.O., S.P. 28/8, p. 74: 12 Aug. 1650.

Hertfordshire where she lived; and she provided horses and arms amounting to the total value of the lands which belonged to her.[12]

The Militia Act of 12 August 1651 required all those who had been charged with the provision of horse, dragoons and foot under the 1650 Act to make them available for service immediately with their arms and equipment, and to advance them one month's pay, which would be reimbursed out of the assessment as Parliament saw fit.[13] Shadrach Cooper, apprentice to Blanche Ellis, a barber of Chelmsford, was advanced almost four pounds by the latter to serve as a trooper at Worcester.[14] John Cranmer of Eastthorpe, husbandman, who served with the Essex regiment of foot under Sir Thomas Honeywood was advanced pay by his master in order to serve in the campaign, but he fell lame on the way, and another man was found, and given the money, in his stead.[15] Fines were imposed on defaulters by the commissioners.[16] On 2 September, the day before the battle, Parliament passed another Act which provided for the advance of a further month's pay by those who had provided the horses, dragoons and foot, as well as by those who had given personal advances in anticipation of a prolonged campaign.[17] With the defeat of the Scots, the further month's pay was not required. On 8 September, the Council

[12] B.L., Addit. MS 40630, fol. 263.

[13] A.O., II, 551-2.

[14] E.R.O., Q/S Ba 2/82, petition of Blanche Ellis: Epiphany 1652.

[15] E.R.O., Q/S Ba 2/78, petition of John Cranmer: 14 June 1652.

[16] P.R.O., Asz. 35/93/2, no. 24, deposition of Richard Harlackenden and Giles Crow.

[17] A.O., II, 555-6.

ordered the militia commissioners to disband their forces and return the horses and arms to their owners.[18] It was reported on 13 September from Worcester that the militia commissioners were disbanding their forces 'with some endeavours of satisfaction to them, answerable to their willingness in Parliament's service'.[19] In the first half of October, the militia commissioners were given discretion to retain some of the horses in cases of emergency,[20] and the reimbursement of those who had provided horses and arms took some time to achieve and did not take place evenly in all the counties. In Suffolk, money disbursed by those who had found horses and arms for the Worcester campaign was repaid, whereas in Essex, the money was still outstanding in the spring of the following year.[21]

The Militia Act passed on 26 July 1659 was similar to the Act of 1650, and it provided for the direct provision of horse and foot by property-holders, as had the previous Act.[22] The general character of the militia thus envisaged was weakened somewhat by a proviso added to the Act to the effect that non-resident landowners were permitted to compound for each horse charged on them at ten pounds apiece,[23] and this principle was extended in the application of the Act to allow those

[18] P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 35: 8 Sept. 1651.

[19] *Mecurius Politicus*, no. 67, p. 1074: 11-18 Sept. 1651.

[20] P.R.O., S.P. 25/23, p. 27: 10 Oct. 1651; S.P. 25/96, p. 576: 11 Oct. 1651.

[21] E.R.O., Q/SR 352, no. 28, Essex grand jury petition: Easter 1652.

[22] *A.O.*, II, 1336-7.

[23] *C.J.*, VII, 731-2, 734; *A.O.*, II, 1340-1; P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, 497-8: 29 Aug. 1659.

charged with foot to compound at twenty-five shillings apiece.[24] This proviso undermined the direct link between the property-holders and the soldiers whom they provided, and created the possibility that the general militia adumbrated in the Act could be transformed into one of a more select type, as indeed it was. The Council gave instructions for ratings to be made.[25] During August, ratings for horse, dragoons and foot were made in the Harlow hundred of Essex, and probably elsewhere as well.[26]

The scheme of August 1659 for a general militia remained a paper one. There is no indication that any forces were actually raised on the basis of the ratings which were made. On 27 August, Parliament ordered a moratorium on the raising of any further money by the militia commissioners and the rating of property for horses and arms.[27] Two days later, Parliament resolved that the militia commissioners should pay off the select militia forces on foot in the counties out of the composition allowed by the Militia Act, namely ten pounds in lieu of horse and arms. Strictly speaking, the proviso only covered absentee landlords, but the Council extended the principle to allow for compositions across the board.[28] On 6 September, Major-General Disbrowe proposed to the Council on behalf of the Committee of Safety

[24] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, p. 592: 19 Sept. 1659.

[25] C.J., VII, 789; P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 213: 29 Sept. 1659.

[26] E.R.O., D/D Kw 01/23.

[27] C.J., VII, 769.

[28] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 497-8, 501-2: 29 Aug. 1659; C.J., VII, 770.

that fines be levied under the Act on all those who had failed to discharge their obligations to provide horse and arms or one month's pay.[29] The proposals were reported to the House on 14 September, and compositions were set at ten pounds and twenty-five shillings for horse and foot respectively.[30] This indicated clearly that the Council expected all property-holders to compound their militia charges, although the resolution retained the fiction that this was still an alternative to the actual provision of horse and foot. Empowered by a further resolution of Parliament,[31] the Council ordered the militia commissioners to proceed with the paying-off of the select militia forces on foot in their counties out of the money raised from the general militia compositions and fines.[32] In Essex, the militia commissioners had requested the Council's assistance in paying off their foot. The Council empowered them, on the basis of the resolution of 14 September, which had now clarified and extended the vote of 29 August, to raise money in their county from all those charged under the militia ratings.[33] On 29 September, Parliament ordered once again that outstanding militia charges be met at the rates of composition it had laid down.[34]

[29] P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, p. 533: 6 Sept. 1659; S.P. 25/98, pp. 193-5: 7 Sept. 1659.

[30] C.J., VII, 778; P.R.O., S.P. 25/79, pp. 573, 592: 14 and 16 Sept. 1659.

[31] C.J., VII, 778.

[32] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 208: 20 Sept. 1659.

[33] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 206: 17 Sept. 1659.

[34] P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 313: 29 Sept. 1659.

The provisions of the Act of March 1660 were substantially the same as those of July 1659, although the option of compounding, so irregularly used by the Rump's Council of State, was omitted.[35] Nevertheless in Norfolk, returns were scrutinized by the deputy lieutenants in that year. Horse and foot had been provided by those charged under the militia rates, but the deputy lieutenants were not satisfied with the turn-out, and they instructed the colonels to muster their regiments again and to make up the defects. They were similarly dissatisfied with the accounts of the hundredal stores, several of which had not been returned for inspection by the county muster-master.[36] In Suffolk, there is no evidence that ratings for horse and arms were made in 1660, and the organization of the county militia was delayed by disputes among the deputy lieutenants.[37] In Essex, the deputy lieutenants in November 1660 determined rates at which to charge the property-holders of the county for horse and foot. Their rates were closer to those of the 1659 Act than to those of the Act of March 1660. They did not, however, raise horse and foot.[38]

The Militia Act of spring 1662 laid down a rule identical to that of 1659 with respect to the provision of horse, and was marginally more lenient with respect to the provision of foot. Like previous Acts, those

[35] A.O., II, 1449-50.

[36] Dunn (ed.), 'Norfolk Lieutentancy Journal', pp. 28-9.

[37] B.L., Addit. MS 21048, fol. 1.

[38] E.R.O., D/DQ 25, fol. 32.

who defaulted in the provision of either horse or foot would be subject to fines enforceable on power of distraint and sale of goods.[39] The Act was put into effect in Norfolk during the summer of that year. The deputy lieutenants' meeting at Norwich issued instructions for lists of all property-holders in each division to be brought in, together with the values of their estates so that ratings could be made according to the Act. In September 1662, the Norfolk deputy lieutenants drew up new instructions to be sent out to the constables in order to ensure that horse and foot, with their arms, be provided as required under the Act.[40] In Suffolk and Essex, there is no direct evidence that the general rates for horse and foot were applied, although in both counties, returns of the rentals of peers estates, also provided for in the Act, were made by early 1663.[41]

3.5.3 The county militia fund

The county militia fund was collected by the same officials as collected the assessment, and the county receiver-general of the assessment then kept the money raised in a separate treasury for use by the militia commissioners for the payment of their officers and for other incidental militia expenses.

[39] 14 Car. II, cap. 3.

[40] Dunn (ed.), 'Norfolk Lieutenancy Journal', pp. 31-5; B.L., Addit. MS 11601 fols. 8-9; Bodleian, Tanner MS 177, fols. 45v-46.

[41] B.L., Addit. MS 21048, fols. 2-3; H.M.C., Fourteenth Report, appendix IX, p. 281.

The principle of a central county militia fund was first established in the 1644 Ordinance, putting the Eastern Counties into a posture of defence.[42] Like the 1644 Ordinance, the short-lived Ordinance of December 1648 provided for a central county fund for incidental militia charges, but unlike the 1644 Ordinance, which levied the money directly on the basis of the charges for horses and arms, it provided instead for an assessment to be determined by the militia commissioners at the general meeting. By separating the county fund from the ratings for horse and foot, the 1648 Ordinance paved the way for levying the latter according to a general rate, that is on the same basis as that on which the monthly assessments for the army were levied.[43] The militia commissioners were given the disposal of their own funds under the Act of 1650, in order to pay their officers and meet their incidental expenses. It was to be raised by the same fiscal machinery as that for the monthly assessment which maintained the standing army.[44] In Essex the first fortnight of this levy was collected towards the end of 1650.[45]

After the Norfolk insurrection, the Council appointed a committee to investigate which counties had, in fact, levied money under the Act and which sums remained in their hands, in order to pay off the forces which

[42] A.O., I, 463.

[43] A.O., I, 1249.

[44] A.O., II, 400-1; P.R.O., S.P. 25/78, p. 74: 12 Aug. 1650.

[45] E.R.O., D/D Tw A1, fol. 242v.

had been called out to put down the insurrection.[46] In mid-January 1651, the Council ordered the militia commissioners to raise the second fortnight's militia assessment as they were empowered to do under the Militia Act, and then to pay their officers, or otherwise to dispose of the funds as Council should direct.[47] In Essex, this collection was only begun in spring and the returns took some time to come in.[48] In Suffolk, the officers were paid from the funds collected already, although this money was probably supplemented later by monies collected from a second fortnight's assessment for the county fund.[49] It is not known whether money for the county militia fund in Norfolk was collected at that time. During 1651, the Council continued to consider what to do with the money for the county militia funds raised under the Militia Act. On 1 August, Parliament voted that all militia funds should come under the direct control of the Council of State.[50]

The seriousness of the threat to the Commonwealth posed by the Scottish invasion prompted Parliament to revive the county militia funds in the form set out in the Act of July 1650. On 12 August 1651, Parliament repealed the vote of 1 August and thus returned to the militia commissioners their central county revenues.[51] The militia's

[46] P.R.O., S.P. 25/15, pp. 33, 37, 78: 21, 23 and 31 Dec. 1650.

[47] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 35: 14 Jan. 1651.

[48] P.R.O., S.P. 28/197, the accounts of Matthew Pinchbeck, high collector for the Dunmow division: May 1651-Jan. 1652.

[49] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, warrants: 3 Dec. 1651 and 12 Mar. 1651.

[50] C.J., VI, 614-5.

[51] C.J., VI, 620.

fiscal machinery was restored by the Act of 2 September, which empowered the militia commissioners to raise a further month's pay should the militia be required to be kept in service for a longer period.[52] Each of the Essex regiments which fought at Worcester was provided with money for contingencies from the county fund. All three regiments were provided with one hundred pounds each prior to their departure,[53] For the supply of the forces on the march, three of the militia commissioners accompanied the colonels to assist with the pay and supply of the forces.[54] Richard Harlackenden, also a militia commissioner, accompanied the forces as surgeon of the brigade.[55] Colonel Matthew's regiment was accompanied by its own surgeon,[56] and similar provisions were probably made for the other two regiments as well. The commissioners who remained in the county ensured that funds were sent to the forces at Worcester. On 5 September, they sent Lieutenant Wheeley, the county quarter-master, with one hundred and forty pounds as one advance for the three regiments,[57] together with a further one hundred pounds which they had borrowed from John Derivale, the receiver of defaulters' fines.[58] They sent wagons to the regiments with match and

[52] A.O., II, 595.

[53] P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 15 Aug. 1651; S.P. 28/306, warrant: 14 Aug. 1651; S.P. 28/332, warrant: 21 Aug. 1651.

[54] P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 20 Aug. 1651.

[55] P.R.O., S.P. 28, 227, warrant: 20 Aug. 1651.

[56] P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 8 Sept. 1651.

[57] S.P. 28/22, warrant: 5 Sept. 1651.

[58] P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 5 Sept. 1651. E.R.O., Q/S Ba 2/78, order: 14 Jan. 1652. The sum was repaid to Derivale the following month (P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 4 Oct. 1651).

other supplies.[59] The final link in the chain of supply for the militia forces was formed by the two Essex militia commissioners, Sir William Masham and Sir Henry Mildmay, who sat on the Council of State in London. A messenger was employed to maintain communications between them and their colleagues in the county.[60]

The expedition to Worcester necessitated considerable incidental expenses for the county militia. On 2 September 1651, Parliament passed an Act for a further militia assessment to be raised up to the monthly value of £90,000 in England and Wales, that is equivalent to one month of the yearly rate for the armed forces.[61] The following day, the Council ordered its Irish and Scottish Committee to issue instructions accordingly.[62] On 4 September, Parliament received news of the Scots' defeat, and ordered that the execution of this Act be abandoned, with the assurance that some other means would be found to pay off the newly-raised militia forces.[63] Accordingly, a week later, Parliament resolved that the month's pay for the militia forces should not be levied after all.[64] Nevertheless, in the case of Essex, the Council instructed the county militia commissioners to act in pursuance of the Act of 2 September, despite the fact that Parliament had revoked it.[65] At the

[59] P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrants: 2 and 5 Sept. 1651.

[60] P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, warrant: 8 Sept. 1651.

[61] A.O., II, 555-6.

[62] P.R.O., S.P. 25/27, p. 16: 3 Sept. 1651.

[63] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, pp. 496, 501: 4 Sept. 1651.

[64] C.J., VII, 14.

[65] P.R.O., S.P. 25/96, p. 553: 25 Sept. 1651.

end of September, a committee was appointed, to which Sir William Masham and Sir Henry Mildmay were later added, to review the question of how the assessment under the Act of 2 September should be levied.[66] A further month's rate was levied on Essex to enable it to pay off its forces.[67] The militia assessment was similarly levied in Suffolk for the payment of the militia officers.[68] Whether it was levied in Norfolk is not known. After Worcester, the officers and men of the Essex county regiments were paid in full for their service during the campaign.[69] There was still, however, discontent in the county about the payment of militia officers. The grand jury petition at the Easter quarter sessions the following year complained of the officers' 'inconsiderable recompence for soe eminent service'.[70] In Suffolk, three troops of horse under the command of Capt. Arthur Barry of Colonel

[66] P.R.O., S.P. 25/22, p. 78: 26 Sept. 1651; S.P. 25/23, pp. 2, 59: 29 Sept. and 25 Oct. 1651.

[67] E.R.O., Q/S Ba 2/78, petition of John Brockhall and Robert Wood, constables of Stistead: Epiphany, 1652. The account of Matthew Pinchbeck for the Dunmow division shows that by 6 November he had handed over to the county fund most of £771 17s. 4d., an amount equivalent to that charged on his division under the £90,000 monthly assessment for the army. (P.R.O., S.P. 28/197, fols. 185, 181v). The accounts of William Cockerell, high collector for Colchester, indicates that a sum of £218 5s. was assessed on the parishes of the town for the militia, a sum which was slightly more than the monthly £90,000 assessment. (B.L., Stowe MS 833, fols. 82-90v).

[68] P.R.O., S.P. 25/23, p. 27: 10 Oct. 1651.

[69] A total of £1,000 was paid to the officers of each of the Essex regiments for thirty-five days' service, and a further £1,000 was allocated to each of the regiments as a gratuity to the men for their performance during the battle. The gratuity was to be equivalent to a week's pay for the horse and a fortnight's pay for the dragoons. (P.R.O., S.P. 28/227, 3 warrants: 9 Oct. 1651).

[70] E.R.O., Q/SR 352, no. 52.

[71] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, warrants: 30 Aug. and 20 Oct. 1651.

Gurdon's regiment were paid off,[71] as were a troop of dragoons,[72] and three companies of Colonel Brewster's regiment of foot.[73] The Irish and Scottish Committee reported on the outstanding militia funds in December 1651, and a special committee was appointed to examine the problem of outstanding militia funds.[74] In April 1652, the task of supervising the collection of outstanding militia funds was passed on to the Committee for Examinations.[75] It is not known what happened to the collection of outstanding militia funds after the dissolution of the Rump Parliament in April 1653, and during Barebone's Parliament and the earlier Protectorate, the matter was not given high priority.

The security crisis of early 1655 motivated the Council to re-open once again the question of the county militia funds. In early 1655, the Council appointed a committee to examine this question once again.[76] On 12 April 1655, Major-General Disbrowe presented the Council with the draft of an order authorizing the militia commissioners appointed by the former Council of State to call in all outstanding militia monies.[77] Letters were sent out accordingly to the militia commissioners.[78] It is not clear whether any money was actually collected or what happened to it. The intention was probably to put any outstanding funds at the

[72] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, warrant 21 Mar. 1652.

[73] P.R.O., S.P. 28/243, warrants 30 Aug. and 6 Sept. 1651.

[74] P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, p. 194: 12 Jan. 1652.

[75] P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, pp. 595-6: 15 Apr. 1652.

[76] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 12: 6 Apr. 1655.

[77] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 26: 12 Apr. 1655.

[78] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 536, 546, 567: 13, 14 and 27 Feb. 1656.

disposal of the militia commissioners appointed in March. During this general review of the militia finances, the Exchequer repaid to Sir William Masham and the rest of the Essex commissioners the sum of five hundred pounds owed them from ten years before, which they in turn had assigned to Sir Thomas Honeywood for his services as militia colonel in the Civil War.[79] Otherwise there is no evidence of previously raised county funds being recovered for the use of the militia of the Eastern Counties during the Protectorate period, and the recovery of county militia funds was once again left in abeyance.

It was not until the crisis of the summer of 1659 that the county militia funds were once again called upon. Although a county militia rate was provided for in the 1659 Militia Act of up to one month's value per year of the £35,000 assessment, neither Parliament nor the Council of State gave orders for any part of it to be levied, so that it was not used.[80] Parliament's order of 25 January 1660 for the payment of the forces faithful to Parliament, probably covered the select militia forces and volunteers who had been in service over the past few months, but it raised the question again of how the monies levied under the Militia Act had been and were to be disposed of.[81] The Council therefore instructed the militia commissioners to return accounts of the

[79] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 118: 5 June 1655; S.P. 28/333, payment of Exchequer: 15 Sept. 1655; E. 403/2815, fol. 155. The sum was issued under the Privy Seal dated 27 July 1655, and paid to Honeywood on 10 September.

[80] A.O., II, 1337-8.

[81] C.J., VI, 822.

monies which had been levied under the Act.

The 1660 Act contained provisions for a county militia fund very similar to those of the 1659 Act, but this was not brought into effect, and after the Restoration, fell away. Nevertheless, the Restoration government did envisage paying its select militia out of an annual sum just under £70,000 a year.[82] The 1662 Militia Act provided for a county militia fund to be levied in times of danger by the deputy lieutenants up to the value, over one year, of the monthly £70,000 assessment. A quarter of this amount was to go towards the payment of junior officers, and the rest towards the general militia expenses of the county.[83] In October 1662, the deputy lieutenants of Norfolk sent out instructions for the militia rate, to the value of one month per year of the £70,000 assessment provided for by the 1662 Act, to be levied.[84] Like the county, the deputy lieutenants of Norwich ordered that part of the one month's £70,000 militia assessment be raised at this time.[85] Thus the Restoration militia followed the pattern established and elaborated during the Commonwealth of a county militia fund set and raised according to a universal rate.

[82] P.R.O., S.P. 29/33, no. 105: March (?) 1661; B.L., Addit. MS 37425, fols. 48-52.

[83] 14 Car. II, cap. 3, xxii.

[84] Dunn (ed.), 'Norfolk Lieutenantcy Journal', p. 34.

[85] N.N.R.O., Norwich city records, 13 b 1 (c), fols. 3v-6.

3.5.4 Extraordinary militia funds

The select militia forces were supported by what came to be known as the decimation tax. The idea that the charge of maintaining the forces raised after the attempted uprising of early 1655 should be borne by the enemies of the regime had been implicit in the instructions issued in March to the commissioners for securing the peace, and indeed was similar in principle to the sequestration system which had come into being during the Civil War. The decimation was dubious, both legally and administratively: legally, because it contravened the Act of Oblivion, and because it lacked Parliamentary approval, administratively because those on whom it was set were the least likely to co-operate in providing the money required. But apart from the dubious nature of the decimation itself, the very payment of local forces from a central fund was precarious, as was demonstrated when alternative experiments were attempted.

In March 1655, the sheriffs were instructed to secure the goods of those suspected of any complicity in the design against the Protectorate, and to appraise and take inventories of their personal property.[86] The last clause of the instructions for the major-generals, which was considered by the Council on 10 August, that year concerned an extraordinary tax to be levied exclusively on the

[86] P.R.O., S.P. 25/75, p. 729: 16 Mar. 1655.

Royalists. On 22 August, this was separated from the other instructions, and the administration of the tax, instead of being one of the particular responsibilities of the major-generals, was entrusted to a larger body, among whom the major-generals would be one member among many.[87] On 24 August 1655, the Council approved a list, to be submitted to the Lord Protector, of commissioners in each county to administer the extraordinary tax.[88] On 21 September, a printed set of nine orders and seven instructions for the commissioners was passed by the Council, and an eighth instruction, concerning the calling of witnesses and papers by the commissioners, was added by hand.[89] The orders provided for a comprehensive tax on all those who had been sequestered, and who had an income of one hundred pounds a year or more, and not only those directly involved in the recent rising. The latter were to be imprisoned and their estates sequestered, and those who had shown open disaffection were to be banished, but all who had at any time supported the late King or his son against Parliament were to be subject to a ten per cent tax on their goods and estates.[90] On 20 October, the Council ordered the blank places left in the instructions for the names of the commissioners for securing the peace to be filled, so that by the end of the month, the orders and instructions were ready for transmission to the major-

[87] P.R.O., S.P. 18/100, nos. 42 and 43: 22 and 24 Aug. 1655; S.P. 25/76, p. 246: 22 and 24 Aug. 1655.

[88] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 246: 24 Aug. 1655.

[89] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 297: 21 Sept. 1655; S.P. 46/97, fol. 154.

[90] P.R.O., S.P. 18/100, no. 136: 21 Sept. 1655; B.L., Egerton MS 2979, fol. 297; Bodleian, Dep. C 169, no. 99, fols. 267-268v; H.M.C., Portland, I, 678.

generals of the regions.[91] To accompany the issue of these orders and instructions, the Council drew up a lengthy declaration to be issued in the Lord Protector's name, setting out the grounds for holding that the Royalists at large had been party to the conspiracy earlier that year, and that imposition of the decimation tax was therefore justified.[92] The Council sent the orders and instructions to the major- generals on 25 October. In its covering letter, it instructed the major-generals to convene the commissioners named in the instructions at the earliest opportunity. It had intended to send down lists of persons against whom it had received evidence, but it found itself unable to supply that immediately.[93] On the twentieth of the following month, it instructed the Commissioners for Compounding to draw up lists of all those who had compounded in the counties so that these could be passed on to the commissions for securing the peace.[94] The original orders were subsequently revised and elaborated as problems with their implementation arose. An early addition, which specified that the estates lying in more than one county should pay tax to the counties in which the land actually lay, was added on 20 November;[95] and the commissioners were instructed not to allow defaultations from the taxes

[91] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 340-1: 20 Oct. 1655.

[92] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 346, 353, 357: 25, 30 and 31 Oct. 1655; S.P. 25/76A, pp. 137. 169-81: 25 and 31 Oct. 1655; Parliamentary History, III, 434-60.

[93] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 346: 25 Oct. 1655; S.P. 46/97, fols. 156-7v.

[94] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 387: 20 Nov. 1655.

[95] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 387: 20 Nov. 1655; S.P. 46/97, fols. 158-9v; S.P. 18/101, no. 142: 20 Nov. 1655.

set for existing debts and other financial incumbrances which the owners of the estates may have accrued.[96] On 25 December, the Council committed the task of following up any outstanding militia money in the counties to the commissioners.[97]

The commissioners in Norfolk met on 8 November, and began the work of decimation.[98] The Council received no less than three letters from them during the following week.[99] The commissioners sat until the tenth, and from then on met twice weekly. They summoned most of those liable to the tax to attend on them and made an evaluation of their estates.[100] Haynes reported rather despondently that he did not think that there would be enough revenue to pay the new militia troops raised in the county, and even recommended that those who had resisted the garrisoning of Yarmouth in 1648 be taxed as well, together with a number of Royalist exiles whose estates would not be decimated, and other 'principal persons of estate ... who made friends after their sequestration'.[101] Indeed a number of applications were made to the Council, and to the Lord Protector himself, to have decimation orders waived, which, if not always successful, at least delayed the commissioners from obtaining their revenues. Thomas Knyvett of

[96] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 387: 20 Nov. 1655; S.P. 18/101, no. 142: 20 Nov. 1655.

[97] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 397, 438: 25 and 28 Dec. 1655; S.P. 46, 97, fol. 160.

[98] T.S.P., IV, 170-1; *Mecurius Politicus*, no. 283, p. 5733: 8-15 Nov. 1655.

[99] P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 393: 27 Nov. 1655.

[100] T.S.P., IV, 216-7. There is no extant list of those assessed.

[101] T.S.P., IV, 216-17.

Ashwellthorpe was included on the decimation list in November, but proceedings against him were delayed until late 1656 by a series of petitions addressed by Knyvett to the Lord Protector.[102] Similar petitions were addressed to the Lord Protector during the course of 1656 by Sir Thomas Corbett of Sprowston[103] and John Lovell of Rowdham.[104]

In Suffolk, the commissioners met at Bury St Edmunds on 20 November, and received the Lord Protector's orders and instructions from Haynes. Like their counterparts in Norfolk, they set about drawing up a list of those in the county liable to the decimation.[105] In January the following year, they submitted a list of fifty- seven names to the Council.[106] The list was not complete and additions were later made to it such as on 16 April, when Sir Thomas Barker was decimated for having fought with the Royalist forces at Lowestoft in 1643.[107] Of the original list, twenty-seven contributors were below the limit of one hundred pounds allowed in the orders for those liable to the tax. The meagre decimation revenue for Suffolk was further reduced when, in March 1655, the Council discharged Sir William Harvey, the largest single

[102]B. Schofield (ed.), 'The Knyvett Letters 1620-1644' Norfolk Record Society, XX (Norwich, 1949), pp. 46-8; T.S.P., IV, 705; B.L., Addit. MS 42153, fols. 168-70; Egerton 2717, fols. 88, 90, 92, 97, 99, 129, 130; P.R.O., S.P. 18/128, nos. 5 and 6: 3 June 1656; S.P. 25/77, p. 160: 3 June 1656.

[103]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS A37, fols. 183, 185-7.

[104]P.R.O., 18/130 no. 28: [16 Sept. 1656]; S.P. 25/77, p. 401: 16 Sept. 1656.

[105]T.S.P., IV, 225, 227-8; P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 393: 27 Nov. 1655.

[106]T.S.P., IV, 427-8.

[107]P.R.O., S.P. 18/127, no. 35 III: 16 Apr. 1656.

contributor in the county[108] and on 1 July, allowed the Earl of Devonshire, the next largest contributor in the county to compound directly with the Exchequer for four thousand pounds for his estates in Suffolk and a number of other counties.[109] Other circumstances further depleted the lists. In December 1656, Elizabeth, the widow of Dr. Edward Aylmer of Cleydon, Suffolk, petitioned the Lord Protector to be removed from the list on the grounds of her husband's death.[110]

In Essex, Haynes communicated the orders and instructions to the commissioners on 13 December, who reported to the Lord Protector the following day that they were ready to take up the task entrusted to them.[111] An initial delay was experienced because the instruction added on 20 November covering the taxing of estates with lands in more than one county had not been received with the other instructions. Nevertheless, on 18 January, the commissioners submitted to the Council a list of all those in Essex liable to the decimation.[112]

With the decimation in operation, Haynes was ordered on 29 January by

[108]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 430, 432, 517: 21 Dec. 1655 and 1 Feb. (18 Mar.) 1656. He provided £200 per annum out of a total county return of £1,069 12s. (T.S.P., IV, 427-8).

[109]P.R.O., S.P. 18/100, no. 74: 21 Dec. 1655; S.P. 18/125, no. 69: 26 Mar. 1656; S.P. 18/129, no. 37: 15 July 1656; S.P. 25/76, pp. 843-4, 607, 610: 27 Dec. 1655, 20 Mar. 1656; S.P. 25/77, pp. 216, 247, 292-3, 305, 353, 378: 1, 15 and 29 July, 28 Aug., 9 Sept. 1656; S.P. 28/333, exchequer payment: 9 Aug. 1656.

[110]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 560: 4 Dec. 1656.

[111]T.S.P., IV, 317, 320; P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 435: 25 Dec. 1655.

[112]T.S.P., IV, 434-5.

the Lord Protector to pay the officers and men of the new militia troops for their first six months of service, or, failing that, to pay them pro rata what they were due as soon as money became available.[113] A committee of the Council was appointed to determine the best way to manage the extraordinary funds across the country as a whole,[114] and was soon faced with the task of paying off soldiers reduced from the militia troops.[115] Reductions of twenty men in each troop were made in the establishments for Norfolk, Suffolk and Essex.[116] However, the Council found that the receipt and allocation of new militia funds was still not functioning satisfactorily, and ordered the Army Committee to make a thorough review of the procedure for controlling the funds from the extraordinary tax. On the Army Committee's recommendation, the Lord Protector and Council issued a declaration on 12 June to the effect that the decimation funds were to come under the direct control of the Army Committee itself, which would now act as the paymaster of the new militia forces.[117] It became apparent that the uneven distribution of the decimation revenues among the regions made it impossible for every region to pay its new militia forces out of the decimation money obtained solely within the region itself. The Army Committee

[113]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 500: 29 Jan. 1656.

[114]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 501: 30 Jan. 1656.

[115]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 565, 568: 27 and 28 Feb. 1656; S.P. 25/77, pp. 41, 48-50, 155, 841: 11, 15, 16 and 29 Apr.

[116]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, pp. 613-4: 21 Mar. 1656; S.P. 28/153, account of Edward Elliston; S.P. 28/309, receipts by Dudley Templar and Sir Thomas Honeywood for £160 each for reducing twenty troopers from each of their new militia troops: 19 and 30 May 1656.

[117]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, pp. 150, 178-9, 203, 902-4: 29 May, 12 and 26 June 1656.

supplemented the depleted revenues of Haynes' region with surpluses from elsewhere. In March, the Council ordered Edward Whalley, major-general of the Midlands region, to pay Haynes £1,240 to enable the latter to make the necessary reductions in the new militia forces of the Eastern Counties,[118] and later the Army Committee paid a total of £2,000 to Haynes out of the £4,000 paid into the Exchequer by the Earl of Devonshire as a composition for the decimation tax.[119] In September, the Council decided that a further £4,000 should be paid to Haynes for his forces. This time the money was taken from the counties in the west under Major-General Disbrowe's care. The soldiers to be disbanded under the establishment of 12 June were to be paid in full for a year's service up to 24 June, and the major-generals were to issue warrants to the treasurers of the extraordinary funds for this money to be paid out accordingly.[120]

By the summer of 1656, it became evident to the government that no amount of retrenchment would enable it to regain its solvency without an increase in revenue, particularly as England was by now engaged in a full-scale war against Spain.[121] By the summer of 1656, only the disbanded soldiers had actually been paid. In June 1656 Haynes urged

[118]P.R.O., S.P. 25/76, p. 613: 21 Mar. 1656; S.P. 25/77, p. 470: 1 Nov. 1656.

[119]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 306: 1 Aug. 1656; A.O. 1/47/5 and 8, sums owed on account. The other £2,000 was paid to Major Boteler, the deputy major-general responsible for Fleetwood's other counties.

[120]S.P. 25/77, pp. 359, 369: 3 and 5 Sept. 1656.

[121]Maurice Ashley, Financial and Commercial Policy under the Cromwellian Protectorate, (London, 1934), chap. X.

strongly that the soldiers of the new militia who had been retained in service, receive their pay. Haynes made repeated entreaties over the following few weeks to the Secretary of State, and finally to the Lord Protector himself.[122] At the end of December 1656, Major-General Disbrowe, supported by a number of members of the Council, but tacitly opposed by the Lord Protector himself, introduced a Bill in Parliament to give the decimation statutory force, but the Bill was defeated finally on 29 January.[123] Despite the repeal of the decimation tax, some of the funds obtained from it continued to be held by the receivers in the counties. In March 1657, the Council ordered that all extraordinary funds still in the hands of the county receivers be paid out to the militia troops in order to make up their arrears.[124] There was still outstanding decimation money in the hands of the two receivers of Suffolk, Thomas Weekes at Ipswich and Edward Oxburgh, of Bury, in October 1658, which the Council ordered to be paid out to the three militia troops of the county.[125] Other funds in both Norfolk and Essex were still outstanding in the hands of the county receivers in 1659.[126] In January 1659, the Council once again appointed a committee to determine how much money was still in the hands of the receivers of the extraordinary funds in the counties.[127]

[122]T.S.P., V, 165, 220, 230.

[123]Rannie, 'Cromwell's Major Generals', pp. 502-5.

[124]P.R.O., S.P. 25/77, p. 748: 5 Mar. 1657.

[125]P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, pp. 111-12, 246-7: 28 Oct. and 21 Dec. 1658; S.P. 18/183, no. 64: 28 Oct. 1658.

[126]P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, pp. 284-5: 6 Jan. 1659.

[127]P.R.O., P.R.O. 31/17/33, p. 285: 6 Jan. 1659.

In the spring of 1659, the restored Rump Parliament found itself faced with the problem of paying the select militia forces which it intended to call out for its defence, but rather than repeat the experiment of the decimation, it decided to tap central funds instead. In May, Parliament ordered that five thousand pounds be used to keep their select militia forces on foot for a period of up to one month.[128] Two hundred pounds was paid to each new militia troop out of the Council's own contingency fund, and the militia captains were instructed to account for the number of days' service their troops had done, and how they had been paid.[129] The Council ordered that the accounts of the militia troops be stated and that warrants be prepared to pay them out of the Council's contingency fund for any service for which they had not yet been paid.[130] On 16 July 1659, the Council requested Parliament for money to pay the new militia forces, upon which the Parliament voted almost £6,000 further to be allocated for that purpose,[131] and a week later, appointed a committee to consider how a fortnight's pay might be forwarded to each of the troops which had been embodied according to the Council's order,[132] which amounted to two hundred and fifty pounds per troop. The money was to be obtained out of the Assessment, and was to be repaid later to the Treasurers-at-War via

[128]C.J., VII, 649.

[129]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 54: 7 June 1659.

[130]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 136: 2 July 1659.

[131]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, p. 186: 16 July 1659; C.J., VII, 721.

[132]Bodleian, Rawlinson MS C 179, pp. 210, 238, 264-5: 22 and 29 July, 1 Aug. 1659.

the Exchequer from money raised from militia compositions and fines.[133] The whole arrangement was extremely precarious for it short-circuited the flow of funds to the standing army, and was unlikely to reassure either the army or the navy that the Rump seriously intended to meet its long-standing arrears. As it was, payment of the militia troops was seriously delayed. Towards the end of September, the soldiers of Maj. Robert Sparrow's troop at Bury St Edmunds seized Edward Oxburgh in order to secure payment of their arrears,[134] while in Norfolk, the troop under Col. Brampton Gurdon went unpaid until January the following year.[135] The Committee of Safety called up decimation arrears owing from the Protectorate period to pay off the militia troops. In early August, the Council gave special orders for the calling in of outstanding decimation funds in Norfolk.[136] In November, the Committee of Safety directed Edward Elliston, the receiver of the decimation in Essex, to pay arrears owing to the two select militia troops in Essex for their previous services.[137] In June 1662, a special commission appointed to determine which public funds were still outstanding found that Thomas Weekes in Suffolk was still accountable for outstanding decimation funds.[138]

[133]C.J., VI, 746; Bodleian, Rawlinson C 179, pp. 272, 276-8: 2 and 3 Aug. 1659; P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, p. 114: 2 Aug. 1659; S.P. 28/227, warrant: 4 Aug. 1659; S.P. 28/342, acquittance: 8 Nov. 1659; S.P. 28/118, fol. 316, 333, 335, 363-4, 367-8, 371, 373-4.

[134]H.M.C., Portland I, 687.

[135]P.R.O., S.P. 25/98, pp. 24-5: 25 Jan. 1659.

[136]Bodleian, Rawlinson C 179, p. 407: 9 Aug. 1659.

[137]P.R.O., S.P. 18/209, no. 15A: 1 Nov. 1659.

[138]P.R.O., S.P. 46/134, fol. 284.

4. CONCLUSION

Parliament needed to defend the Eastern Counties, as it did the other regions of the country, first and foremost against the Royalist threat; but also against dissident radical groups. Throughout the Interregnum the successive governments were well supplied with intelligence about the Royalists and other groups' intentions and movements. The government was able to forestall the Norfolk rising of 1650 because of its well-developed intelligence network, and in the months before Worcester, kept itself well informed about all threats to the region. After Worcester, it was able to neutralize the Sealed Knot, which was influential in the region; and the Republicans and Fifth Monarchists, who went into opposition during the Protectorate, were watched closely, especially by Major Haynes, deputy major-general in the region, but also by the Secretary of State himself, through his intelligence network. The result was that the government was well prepared for the rising planned for the early spring of 1655, even though nothing eventuated in the Eastern Counties themselves. This vigilance continued through the later Protectorate up to the coup of April 1659. In 1659, Thurloe was replaced by the Rump's able intelligencers, Sir Arthur Haselrigge and Capt. George Bishop, who successfully anticipated the results of Viscount Mordaunt's mission under the Great Trust, and the risings of the late summer of 1659. The Eastern Counties, like the rest of

the country, were put on an active alert. Thus at every point up to the Restoration, all threats in the region were successfully anticipated and met. The Restoration government was able to draw on the expertise of the Interregnum government's intelligence service, as well as its own experience in exile. The only serious threat to the new regime, the Venner uprising of January 1661, was put down without great difficulty.

Strategically, the Eastern Counties were a springboard from which an invading army could launch an attack against London. To defend the region against enemy invasion, a number of key points needed to be held and secured. The coastline was of an uncertain nature, and unless points of entry could be obtained, a descent could not be made by an invading enemy force. Similarly, the road and river systems could only be turned to an enemy's advantage if points such as Lynn, Norwich, Yarmouth and Colchester were in its hands. Otherwise, any enemy advance would be without a line of supply and would be easily counteracted by the defending army, whose control of the roads radiating out of London would allow it to deploy its forces quickly against any enemy advance southwards. The region was important economically, both as a centre for fishing, agriculture and manufacture, and also for its position on the vital coal route from the Newcastle area to London. The region was well able to supply any army of occupation with corn and dairy produce, and was a useful logistic base for the army both in England and overseas. It was important to Interregnum governments as a logistic base for operations in Scotland, the naval war

against the Dutch between 1652 and 1654, and for the operations in Flanders from 1656 to 1659.

The overall defence effort was composed of a triad of elements: the raising and deployment of forces, the maintenance of security, and the provision of funds. Each aspect was essential to the whole, and itself required the proper functioning of the other two aspects in order to function. Unless forces were raised and deployed efficiently, and unless, also, proper provision were made to pay them and provide for their supply, the government, even with the best intelligence at its disposal and good local co-operation, would not be able to secure the region against a well-planned and executed insurrection or invasion from abroad. On the other hand, unless the government kept itself well informed of domestic and foreign threats to its security, and contained the level of political dissidence, it would be unable to raise and deploy its forces efficiently within each region, or to obtain funds from the region to supply them.

The government made sure that the key-points in the Eastern Counties were covered, usually by garrisons of the standing army, but also by local militia forces. This served as a protection against a fully-fledged invasion by an enemy army, since it allowed the number of soldiers under arms to be expanded to meet particular threats without unduly increasing the permanent establishment. The militia was employed first to secure the region and augment the garrisons after the Norfolk insurrection, and then,

during 1651, they released standing forces in the region for service elsewhere by taking over local defence, and over and above this, provided many of the three thousand horse and dragoons which secured the north-west of England during the summer of that year. The crowning achievement of the militia was at Worcester, when militia forces augmented the standing army to double its size, while at the same time others were retained in the localities for local defence. To a certain extent, this was repeated eight years later during the Booth uprising, although, unlike 1651, the general militia was not embodied in its full form, and was used only for local defence and to release garrisons and field units for service elsewhere. Throughout the Interregnum, local defence in the interior was provided by regular and militia horse. During the Commonwealth, and again to a certain extent during the Protectorate, troops of horse from the standing army covered the interior of the Eastern Counties. The creation of the new militia in 1655 was an attempt to replace the regular troops of horse with militia. However, regular units of horse continued, albeit on a less continuous basis, to be deployed in the Eastern Counties during the Protectorate. The Rump regime of 1659 drew once again on the select militia troops in order to supplement the mounted forces available to it, to secure the interior, and after the Restoration, mounted volunteers were also used.

The system of regional security reflected the duality of the defence system. The Council acted through the commanders of the regular forces

stationed in the region, especially the governors of garrisons, but, at the same time, it maintained a separate channel of command through the militia commissioners in each county, over-arched during the Protectorate, and again in the latter half of 1659, by the major-generals. The two channels of command were distinct and independent, but they complemented one another, and the close control of both by the Council ensured that rivalry did not arise between them. Which was dominant at a particular time and place depended on a combination of national policy, individual personalities and local circumstances. When the Commonwealth was first established, the Council of State relied heavily on the commanders of regular units in the region, since the revised militia commission was still in the process of being established. Col. Valentine Walton at Lynn was especially prominent in Norfolk and Suffolk during this time, and co-ordinated security in the area until well after the battle of Worcester. He was assisted at Yarmouth by Colonel Berkstead and then by Major Blake, one of his own officers. Other regular officers such as Col. Nathaniel Rich, part of whose horse regiment was in the area, also helped to co-ordinate regional security, but their sphere of responsibility was more limited, as was that of the governors of Landguard fort, Harwich, Mersea Island and Tilbury. The regular officers did not act on their own, but always in close co-operation with local militia commanders such as Col. Robert Jermy in Norfolk, Maj. William Burton at Yarmouth and Col. Humphrey Brewster in east Suffolk and Lothingland. Security in west Suffolk and in most of Essex was almost entirely in the hands of the local militia

commissioners and officers. In west Suffolk, Sir Thomas Barnardiston and Sir William Soames, together with Col. John Fothergill from Sudbury, kept watch on the area, while the overall co-ordination of the security of Essex rested largely in the hands of Sir Thomas Honeywood, who also acted as governor of Colchester in the six months following the Norfolk insurrection, an unusual responsibility for a militia officer. During the Protectorate, responsibility for the region was divided between Maj. Hezekiah Haynes, the deputy major-general for the Eastern Counties, and Col. John Biscoe, governor of Lynn, who, by 1656, had responsibility for all the garrisons in the region from the Wash to the confluence of the Stour and Orwell. Haynes worked in close co-operation with the commissioners in Suffolk and Essex, and on an informal basis with Col. Robert Jermy in Norfolk, which was formalized when commissioners were appointed there as well in late 1655. Biscoe similarly relied on the close co-operation of the militia commanders at Lynn, Capts. Thomas Toll and Joshua Green, and his deputy at Yarmouth, Lieut.-Col. William Styles, acted jointly with Maj. William Burton there, especially during the crisis of July and August 1659. Colonel Salmon, whose forces were stationed in the area, was not involved in maintaining local security within the region at large. The brief occupation of the Eastern Counties by Colonel Rich's regiment of horse in early 1660, was due more to internal army politics and national affairs than a need to preserve local security. After the Restoration of Charles II, and the disbandment of the standing army, security in the region was put firmly into the hands of the King's lords

lieutenant and their deputy lieutenants, and, to lesser extent, of the governors of Landguard fort and Tilbury.

During the Commonwealth, the often hand-to-mouth financial arrangements of the Civil War period were replaced for the standing army, by a well-ordered system of pay and supply according to a fixed establishment, and for the militia, by the direct provision of men and arms according to a well-defined and universal rate. In both cases, the principle was to allocate the burden evenly among the property-holders in counties and boroughs. The Council experimented on occasion with temporary establishments which blurred the distinction, once again, between the standing army and militia. The three thousand horse and dragoons recruited from the militia in 1651 were taken into state pay, albeit on a short-term basis, and thus joined the regular establishment. The decimation, which provided the financial basis for the select militia of 1655, progressively came under central control, and cut right across the direct relationship which characterized the militia, between those who bore the financial burden and those who did service. The attempt by the Rump in 1659 to provide an alternative to the decimation in order to pay its select militia forces, further reduced them to the status of state-paid auxiliaries, with only a second claim to central funds after the regular forces on the one hand, and with no assured local support on the other. By 1659, the financial position of even the regular forces was extremely precarious because of the regime's political instability, and the

situation was saved only by the restoration of political order by General Monck and the levying of a further national assessment to pay off and disband the standing army. The Restoration government did not attempt to maintain a large permanent establishment, and although it did experiment with the idea of a select force paid from central funds, it reverted eventually to a reliance upon the militia as its primary defence.

The three constituent elements of the defence system involved the organization and resources of a diversity of institutions, both local and central, and in turn transformed the character of those institutions. The commissions of the peace in the counties and the corporations in the boroughs, were both remodelled: the former by the Commissioners of the Great Seal by order of Council or Parliament, and the latter by the Committee for Indemnity, in order to ensure that the most influential members of each at least acquiesced in the regime, and that each provided both the militia authorities and the standing army with the necessary support. J.P.s and leading members of corporations sat on the militia commissions, together with garrison governors and other officers of the standing army, and provided local expertise, and at the same time ensured that the burden of raising militia forces and quartering units from the standing army was evenly spread. The security measures which the militia commissioners adopted for the counties at large, and which the county J.P.s supplemented at quarter sessions in their neighbourhoods, were complemented in the boroughs by the institution of watch and ward,

together with the power of corporations to control movement and detain suspects. Both J.P.s and corporation members similarly served on the assessment commissions, and assisted in the setting and enforcing of militia rates. J.P.s and members of corporations also participated in the administration of the customs and excise, and so were drawn yet further into government at a regional as well as a local level. Through the extraordinary establishment of a High Court of Justice at Norwich in December 1650, and the more normal circuits of assizes, the central government drew the local leadership still further into the task of securing their region's affairs. The process of integrating the region's system of security led to the introduction of the system of major-generals in March 1655; which, although superficial in its actual impact, yet reflected the way in which the officials of the various localities in the region were working together within an overall administrative structure. The Council was able to obtain intelligence and manage the defences of each region not only through the regional representatives in the Council and Parliament, but also through its secretariat, the Post Office, the Lord General, the Admiralty and Navy Commissioners and the Lieutenant of the Ordnance. Through these central agencies, the Council ensured that each region was integrated into the national system of defence.

The mobilization of national resources for the purposes of defence transformed the nature of governmental power both nationally and regionally. Those who managed the defence arrangements of the Interregnum

were backed by full Parliamentary sanction, and the success of the new arrangements owed more now to statutory authority, backed by the use of military force as necessary, and less to the social prestige of the local governors, than had been the case before the Civil War. Social prestige remained a significant factor, however, and this may well account for the failure of the major-generals during the Protectorate to influence local affairs, which compared very unfavourably with the successful domination, which later, the Restoration lords lieutenant were able to exercise in their counties. But this should not obscure the fact that the Restoration lords lieutenant were able to build upon the groundwork laid during the Interregnum. The ferocity of the Restoration regime was channelled through the well-ordered militia structure which Interregnum governments had carefully developed in the regions. Even though the New Model Army was disbanded in 1660, the complex financial system which had been created to sustain the army and militia in the regions made possible the considerable military power which Interregnum governments had at their disposal; and the system of taxation developed to sustain the military establishment provided the government with new ways and means to maintain a system of defence. Through the sheer necessity of having to defend themselves and maintain control over all regions of the country, Interregnum governments laid the foundations for an efficient public administration which endured the political collapse of the Commonwealth and the restoration of the monarchy.

The pattern of the Interregnum defence structure reflected the ideal which informed Interregnum administration generally: that of government for the public good. The ideal was not a new one, and had ancient antecedents, but the temporary displacement of many of those who had governed the nation before the Civil War brought it prominently to the fore. The ideal united the centre and the localities in a common cause, and it was most powerfully realized when the wielders of central and local authority alike were aware of a common danger. The re-organization of the standing army in 1649 and the integration of the garrisons in a national system of defence was carried out in close co-operation with the local authorities, and the counties, and boroughs were provided with a newly efficient militia. In 1651, the militias of the localities rallied to the support of the regime in order to defend the country against the Scottish invasion, and, unlike their recalcitrance in 1640 when called upon then to fight the Scots, marched out of their counties without a murmur; and the event showed the administration, from the centre to the localities, to be all of a piece - for the defence of the localities was tightly controlled from the centre, and those who exercised authority within the localities were closely involved in the formulation of central policy. The Dutch War also called upon the co-operation of local officials, especially the corporations of the coastal towns; and key local figures, such as Maj. William Burton of Yarmouth, as Admiralty Commissioner, helped to direct the overall war effort. The localities bore the heavy burden of the war through their payment of the assessment, the raising of which depended on

the co-operation of local officials right down to parish level. But the high level of the assessment was an invidious burden on the political nation, and to the inhabitants of the Eastern Counties. It was the privateers and pirates of the Flemish coast who presented the greatest danger to their livelihood, not Dutchmen. The establishment of the Protectorate created a break in the continuity between the centre and the localities, but the Protectorate government was responsive to local concerns, first in the ending of the war with the Dutch, and then in its attempts drastically to reduce the size of the standing army, and so further decrease the level of the assessment. It was only partially successful in the latter regard, for while it managed to bring the level of the assessment down first to half of what it had been before, and then to less than a third, it did so by falling back on expedients which seriously damaged the relationship between the centre and the localities. By doing away with the direct link between the local property-holders and the forces who defended them, the government lost the close involvement of the localities in their own defence which had proved so successful in 1651. By subordinating the commissioners for securing the peace, already a smaller and more politically select body than the militia commissions of the Commonwealth, to the major-generals, the Council appeared to be replacing local initiative with direct central control. Finally, the decimation obscured and vitiated the Protectorate government's attempts to bring back into public life those who had been displaced or alienated from the regime by the events of the Civil War and its aftermath. The war with Spain laid

the inhabitants of the Eastern Counties open to the depredations of Spanish men-of-war and privateers, but the securing of the Flemish coast and especially the privateer nest of Dunkirk removed a major source of danger to the region's coasts. The campaign in Flanders was conducted at relatively little cost to the English government, and, apart from during the first half of 1657, the assessment was kept at a relatively low level, and, in fact, was decreased in June 1657 to less than a third of what it had been during the Dutch War. But the quartering of Salmon's regiment in the region for the Flanders campaign was an indirect burden on the localities, as was the care of sick soldiers from Flanders and the supply of the garrisons there. The overthrow of the Protectorate in April 1659 resulted in yet another disruption of the continuity of administration between the centre and the localities. The mounting arrears of the standing army and the recourse of the regime to the use of irregular forces further strained the relationship between the centre and the localities. The government's attempt to pay its irregular forces by diverting funds from the assessment and by taking compositions on the militia rates undermined the very basis on which the Commonwealth had constructed its system of defence: the principle that the burden of defence should be spread evenly and efficiently across the political nation at large, and that the localities themselves should participate directly in their own defence. As a result, both standing army and militia were forced to resort, as they had done before the establishment of the Commonwealth, to free-quarter, loans and even the seizure of funds. On the other hand, the militias of the counties

and boroughs fell into neglect. The seizure of power by the army grandees in October exacerbad the situation. The principle of government for the public good appeared to have fallen into abeyance, and the return in the first half of 1660 of those whom the Commonwealth had displaced restored the complex nexus of personal allegiance and traditional authority which the Commonwealth had attempted to supercede. But the forms of administration which the Commonwealth had created were not lost, and the Restoration government, duly instructed by its predecessor, equipped itself with an apparatus of government which bound centre and localities in a single objective: the safety and prosperity of the realm. The old governors had returned, but on a new basis.

APPENDIX

Captain Kitchingman and the Norfolk Insurrection

Professor Underdown has shown how the Norfolk insurrection was part of a grand design with associations similar to those set up by the Royalists for their rising in early 1655.[1] Underdown does not explain why or how those involved in the Norfolk insurrection were induced to rise prematurely, and it is to this question that I wish to bring forward an item of evidence held in the Norfolk Record Office, which does much to answer that question. It is a transcript of a much later date by one James Paston junior from a paper lent him by one Capt. Thomas Palgrove of Pulham market. The original, according to him, was at that time kept in the registrar's office at Norwich. The paper contains a contemporary account by an unnamed Royalist of the actions of one Ralph Kitchingman, alias Smith, who 'was purposely made use of as a Decoy Duck to draw all [th]e rest into [th]e Usurper's Net'. Before the rising, Kitchingman had ridden around the county with the message to rise, and it was he, it appears, who was responsible for the occasion and timing of the eventual rising.[2]

[1] Underdown, Royalist Conspiracy, pp. 43-5.

[2] N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS 2994.

Corroboration of Kitchingman's role in the affair can be obtained from a number of different sources. He is mentioned in the confession of the Royalist conspirator, Thomas Coke, made in April 1651, as having informed the messenger of Col. Thomas Blague, the Royalist organizer in the region, that fifteen hundred men had been listed for the Royalist cause and were ready to rise. This was probably part of Kitchingman's deception, for Coke then comments rather morosely in his confession: 'I never heard of one hundred men that appeared there yet'.[3] Kitchingman also visited Ralph Skipworth, the Royalist designated governor of Lynn, although the latter subsequently denied that when questioned by the Council of State some time after the rising.[4]

Kitchingman was arrested at Bury St Edmunds where he had fled, together with Blague who seems to have been going by the name of Maj. George Roberts.[5] He was taken to Norwich together with other prisoners, but does not appear to have stood trial at the High Court of Justice. It is very probable that Kitchingman was the 'certaine person' on whose behalf the Council intervened with the judges of the High Court of Justice on 17 December, with the order that his trial be forborne until further order from the Council.[6] Many of those brought to trial had been arrested on

[3] H.M.C., Portland, I, 578, 580.

[4] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 75: 27 Jan. 1651.

[5] N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS 2994; Hare 5635 C; C/S1/1 fol. 57; Nicholls (ed.) Original Letters, p. 34; Grey, Impartial Examination, IV, 106; Blomefield, Essay, III, 400.

[6] P.R.O., S.P. 25/15, p. 18: 17 Dec. 1650.

Kitchingman's information.[7] Kitchingman himself was still being held in the county gaol at Norwich in mid-January the following year in the personal custody of Colonel Rich.[8] Towards the end of January, the Council summoned Kitchingman to appear before it in March to testify against one Hickman, whom the High Court of Justice had committed to Norwich gaol.[9] Kitchingman's evidence was also used against Skipworth when the latter appeared before the Council on 27 January.[10] A petition was presented to the Council by Lieut.-Gen. Fleetwood on Kitchingman's behalf on 19 February, and was referred to the Committee of Examinations.[11] It is not known what became of Kitchingman after that.

[7] N.N.R.O., Norfolk MS, 2994.

[8] N.N.R.O., C/S1/1, fol. 57.

[9] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 63: 23 Jan. 1651.

[10] P.R.O., S.P. 25/16, p. 75: 27 Jan. 1651.

[11] P.R.O., S.P. 25/66, p. 361: 19 Feb. 1651; S.P. 25/27, p. 361: 19 Feb. 1651.

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- C. 193/13/3 liber pacis, 1650
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- 4156-8, 4166 papers and letters in the possession of
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- 4180 rough letter books of Sir Edward
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- 4184 Thomas Birch's calendar of Privy Seal
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- 4196-7 warrants of the Coucil of State and
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- 11597 annual income of England, Scotland and
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- 15520 notes on the Suffolk gentry
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- 15857-8 miscellaneous papers and letters in the
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- 19678 return of traitors' estates for the
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correspondence, 1661-4
- 22620 correspondence of the corporation of
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- 37425 includes outline of a scheme for a
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- 40625 includes correspondence between Lady

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42153 correspondence of Thomas Knyvett of
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46190 correspondence and papers of William
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1.1.3.2 Additional Charters (Addit. Ch.)

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- 2978 includes copy of Council orders, 1655
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- 427 book listing Colonel Whalley's regiment
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land in Norfolk and Essex, 1650
- 454 diary of Sir Henry Mildmay of
Danbury, 1633-52
- 991 commonplace book of Richard Symonds,
temp. Interregnum
- 6244 minute book of of the county committee of

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1.1.3.5 King's manuscript collection

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1.1.3.6 Landsdowne manuscript collection

1215 includes abstract of excise returns,
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1236 includes letter from John Bradshaw to
Oliver Cromwell, 1650

1.1.3.7 Stowe manuscript collection

- 185, 189 includes confessions of Thomas Scot, with lists of persons from whom he received intelligence, 1659, and letters and papers concerning Colchester, temp. Civil War and Interregnum
- 322 miscellaneous state papers
- 497 register of letters patent in the Treasury, 1654-9
- 577 miniature copy of a liber pacis, 1651, corrected to 1652
- 833 assessment papers: Colchester, 1643-61
- 834-9 collections of Philip Morant relating to Colchester
- 840 includes ratings of parishes in Colchester, 1610-62

842

order book of borough of Colchester,
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1.1.4 House of Lords Record Office (H.L.R.O.)

1.1.4.1 Main papers collection

(by date) petitions and letters to the House of
Lords, 1648 and 1660

1.1.5 The Bodleian Library, Oxford

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39-41, 48-9, 52, include letters to Clarendon from
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63-4 include reports of army officers, 1659

1.1.5.2 Deposited Manuscripts (Dep.)

C 158-9, 169 Nalson MSS VII, VIII, XVI: state papers
originally belonging to the Speaker of
the House of Commons

1.1.5.3 English History Manuscripts (Eng. Hist.)

e. 308-9 notebooks of Roger Whitley, 1655 and
1658

1.1.5.4 Firth manuscripts

c. 4 Essex lieutenancy book, 1608-39

1.1.5.5 Rawlinson manuscripts

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- D 711 list of subscriptions to the Engagement,
1649-51
- Essex 23 extract from the diary of John Sparrow of
Dynes Hall, Essex, 1660-7
- 1.1.5.6 Tanner manuscripts (on microfilm)
- 51-7 state papers originally in the possession
of the Speaker of the House of Commons, 1659-48
- 96 includes Norfolk lieutenancy and
assessment papers, 17th century

- 115 correspondence and papers of the Hobart family, 17th century
- 177 lieutenancy book of Sir John Holland of Quidenham, Norfolk, 1625-62
- 226 contains papers concerning Suffolk and Ipswich, including a list of J.P. s, 1659
- 239 notes of speeches in the House of Commons by Sir John Holland after the Restoration

1.1.6 Library of Worcester College, Oxford

1.1.6.1 The Clarke Manuscripts

- 17 letter book of correspondence between the army and Parliament, 1649-50
- 53 army commission book, 1659-60
- 66 minute book of the committee of officers for reviewing the garrisons in England,

1649

67 book relating to the army establishment
of 1649, 1647-50

72 notes of the committee of officers for
reviewing the garrisons in England, 1648-9

1.1.7 Cambridge University Library (C.U.L.)

Dd viii 1 liber pacis of 1653

1.1.8 Folger Library, Washington D.C.

1.1.8.1 Bennet Papers

X.d.483 (48) printed Militia instructions with the
names of the commissioners for Cornwall
inserted, 1650

1.2 Manuscripts in local record offices

1.2.1 Norwich and Norfolk Record Office

1.2.1.1 Family collections

- | | |
|----------------------------|--|
| Aylsham 199, 202 | papers of the Doughty family relating to
the assessment in the North Erpingham
hundred c.1650, 1660 |
| Bradfer-Lawrence
926/81 | commission of lieutenancy to Horatio,
Lord Townshend, with letter of deputation
from Lord Townshend to Sir Edward Walpole,
1661 |
| Hare 5635 C | list of prisoners for the High Court of
Justice at Norwich, 1650 |
| Hare 5636-9 | documents relating to the shrievelty of
Sir Ralph Hare, 1650 |
| Hare 5640 | pardon of Sir Ralph Hare by Charles II, |

1660

Hare 6252 copy of commission of lieutenancy to
Thomas, Earl of Southhampton, 1660

1.2.1.2 Norfolk manuscripts (Norfolk)

2666 a return of the ammunition and arms in
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the muster-master, 1660

2994 copy of a contemporary Royalist account
of the Norfolk Insurrection of 1650,
19th century (?)

6158 appointment of deputy lieutenants by the
Earl of Southampton, 1660

21303 parchment muster roll for Norfolk and
Norwich, 1661

27275 minutes of lieutenancy meeting, 1664, and
notes on the Norfolk militia, c.1662-74

1.2.1.3 Norfolk county records (C)

C/S1/7	quarter sessions minute book, 1649-54
C/S2/1-2	quarter sessions order books, 1650-7, 1657-68
C/S3	session rolls, 1642-9, 1653-5, 1657-8, 1660-80

1.2.1.4 Norwich city records

13 b 1	(a) papers relating to the assessment dispute over Thorpe, 1643-54; (b) Norwich assessment schedule, 1660; (c) Norwich lieutenancy book, 1662-74
16 a 6	assembly book, 1642-68
16 b 23	mayors court book, 1654-66
18 a, b	unbound accounts, 1648-63
18 d	book labelled 'Miscellaneous Accounts,

1616-79' contains, inter alia:

(a) proceedings of the Norwich assessment

Commissioners, 1649-63

(b) proceedings of the Norwich

lieutenancy, 1648-50

26 19-20 commissions of Oyer and Terminer, 1650

26 21-2 commissions of the Peace, Protectorate

1.2.1.5 Borough records of King's Lynn (KL)

KL/C7/10-11 hall books, 1637-84

KL/C39/102-4 chamberlains' accounts, 1639-69

KL/Map plan of the fortifications on the south
marsh bank, south Lynn, 1646

1.2.1.6 Borough records of Great Yarmouth (Y)

Y/C19/7	assembly book, 1642-62
Y/C19/19	waste assembly book, 1653-7
Y/C27/2	audit book, 1620-Restoration
Y/C49/11	waste audit book, 1650

1.2.2 Bury St Edmunds and West Suffolk Record Office (W.S.R.O.)

Acc. 2680/6/5	constables' account book, Hawstead, 1648- 1712
Tem. 123	Wattisfield parish documents

1.2.3 Ipswich and East Suffolk Record Office (E.S.R.O.)

1.2.3.1 Family collections (HA)

HA 30/787 William Blois' account book, 1649-72

1.2.3.2 Special collections (HD)

HD 36/2672, 2781 borough correspondence books of Ipswich

HD 79/AA1/2/4 assessment schedule for the hundred of
Hartismere, 1652

HD 79/AF4/7/1-4 assessment schedules for the borough of
Eye, 1649-50

HD 330/6 account book of the chief constables of
the Loes hundred

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1.2.3.3 Suffolk county records

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1658-65

105/2/2-4 quarter sessions minute books, 1650-2,
1652-6, 1658-65

1.2.3.4 Borough records of Ipswich (C)

C6/1/6 assembly book, 1643-80

1.2.3.5 Borough records of Aldeburgh (EE1)

EE1/01/1 borough correspondence book, temp.
Civil War and Interregnum

1.2.3.6 Borough records of Eye (EE2)

EE2/L2/2/1-10 treasurers' accounts

EE2/L2/15/2-12 treasurers' bills and warrants

1.2.3.7 Borough records of Orford (EE5)

EE5/2/2 act book of the corporation, 1579-1662

EE5/2/2 assessment schedules, 1654-68

1.2.4 Essex Record Office (E.R.O.)

1.2.4.1 Family collections (D/D)

D/DA 023 presentment of a labourer for scandalous
words against the Lord Protector, 1656

D/DAY 01 agreement between sheriff and
undersheriff of Essex, 1660

D/DCv 1 record book of William Holcroft of
Walthamstow, 1661-88

D/DCv 4/1-3 militia papers of William Holcroft, 1661-
84

D/DHt T126/49 order for jury summons from the Keepers

of the Liberties of England to the
sheriff of Essex, 1652

D/DKw 01/23

list of the horse, dragoon and foot
arms charged upon the Harlow hundred,
1659

D/Dm 04

account of payments made to maimed
soldiers, 1651

D/Dms C4/1-10

correspondence of Carew Mildmay, 1627-57

D/DQ 25

book containing copies of militia
documents from before the Civil War and
after the Restoration

D/DQs 18

diary of John Clopton of Little Wratton,
Suffolk, 1648-50

D/DSh 09

militia papers of Sir Thomas Smith of
Hill Hall, Essex, 1663-5

D/DTw A1

estate accounts of Thomas Meade of Farnham

1.2.4.2 Parish records (D/P)

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| D/P 140 | contains the accounts of the constables
of Stanford Rivers, 1653-5 |
| D/P 167/1/1 | contains the accounts of the constables
of Woodford, 1649-50 |
| D/P 188/1/1 | contains the accounts of the constables
of Messing, 1648 |
| D/P 232/8/1 | contains the accounts of the constables
of Great Easter during the Civil War and
Commonwealth |

1.2.4.3 Essex historians and antiquaries' manuscripts (D/Y)

- | | |
|-----------|--------------------|
| D/Y 2/2-9 | Morant manuscripts |
|-----------|--------------------|

1.2.4.4 Essex county records (Q)

Q/JC 23-5, 27-32	commissions of the Peace, 1651, 1653, 1654, 1657
Q/JC 26	commission of Sewers, 1654
Q/SBa 2	quarter sessions depositions and petitions
Q/SO 1	quarter sessions order book 1652-61
Q/SR	quarter sessions rolls

1.2.4.5 Borough records of Malden (D/B3)

D/B3/1/20	sessions book, 1631-64
D/B3/80-90, 109, 311	chamberlains'accounts, 1648, 1651-3, 1660, 1662-3

1.2.4.6 Transcripts (T/A)

T/A 419/1 microfilm of sessions book, 1657-73

1.2.5 The Colchester Record Office (Colchester)

assembly book, 1646-1666

chamberlains' accounts, 1654-5, 1655-6,
1659

chamberlains' miscellaneous account book,
1620 to after Restoration

1.2.6 The borough muniments of Harwich (Harwich)

2/6 suit before borough sessions, James Sacke
v. Miles Hubberde, 1655

98/3 minute book of the borough court of
common council and court general, 1600-44

98/10 minute book of the borough court of
pleas, 1648-60

98/15

quarter sessions book, 1639-1703

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Terrarum sive Atlas Novus, XIV (1645)

_____, Regiones inundatae finibus comitatus Norfolkiae,

Suffolciae,... (1648)

Ianssonium, I., Norfolcia; vernacule Norfolke (Amsterdam, 1646)

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Kingdom of England (1644)

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1661?)

An Hypocrite Unmasked: or the Inside of Colonel Robert Jermy
(n.p., 1659?)

Style, William (ed.), Narrationes Modernae, or Modern Reports
begun in the now Upper Bench court at Westminster 21 Caroli...to
the end of 1655 (London, 1658)

2.1.3 P.R.O. collection of printed Acts of Parliament (P.R.O.)

P.50 An Act for the further continuing of the Assessment of of One
hundred and twenty thousand pounds a Moneth for Three Moneths from the
Nine and twentieth of September One thousand six hundred and one, for
Maintenance of the Armies in England, Ireland and Scotland (London,
1651)

P.50 An Act for Raising of Ninety thousand pounds a Moneth for Six Moneths, To commence the Five and Twentieth day of December One thousand six hundred fifty-one for Maintenance of the Forces in England, Ireland and Scotland Raised by the Authority of Parliament for the Service of the Commonwealth (London, 1651)

P.52 A Collection and Catalogue of all those Ordinances and Proclamations &c. which have been Printed and Published since the Government was established in His Highness the Lord Protector (London, 1654)

2.1.4 Thomason collection in the British Library (B.L.)

669 f.15 (49)Instructions for the Commissioners of the Militia in the County of [] concerning giving Licence to some of the Scottish Nation to remain in England (London, 1650)

669 f.15 (78)An Act for Continuance of a former Act for Setling the

Militia of this Commonwealth (London, 1651)

669 f.16 (73) By the Committee of Safety of the Commonwealth of England
Scotland and Ireland, &c. A Proclamation Declaring the contiuance of
Justices, Sherriffs and other Officers (London, 1659)

669 f.25 (1) The Declaration and Address of the Gentry of the County of
Essex who have adhered to the King and suffered Imprisonment, or
Sequestration during the late Troubles (London, 1660)

E.703 (17) A Description and Plat of the Sea-Coasts of England from
London up all the River of Thames, all along the Coasts to Newcastle,...
(London, 1653)

E.1060 (51) An Act for continuing the Assessment of Ninety thousand
pounds per mensem for Three Moneths longer; viz. From the 29 September,
1649 to the 29 of December following (London, 1649)

E.1060 (101) An Act for an Assessment for six Moneths, from the Four and

Twentieth day of June 1650, for the Maintenance of the Forces Raised by the Authority of Parliament, for the Service of England and Ireland and at the rate of Threescore thousand pounds per Mensem for the last three Moneths thereof (London, 1650)

E.1061 (31) An Act for Raising of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds per Mensem for four Moneths to commence the Five and twentieth of December, 1650 for the Maintenance of the Forces in England, Ireland and Scotland, Raised by Authority of Parliament for the Service of this Commonwealth (London, 1650)

E.1061 (47) An Act for Continuing the Assessment of One hundred and twenty thousand pounds per Mensem for six Moneth, from the Five and twentieth of March, one thousand six hundred fifty one for the Maintenance of the Armies in England, Ireland and Scotland (London, 1651)

E.1061 (69) An Act for Raising of Ninety thousand pounds by the Moneth for Six Moneths to Commence the Four and twentieth day of June, One thousand six hundred fifty and two, until the Five and twentieth day of December next ensuing; Towards the Maintenance of the Forces in England, Ireland and Scotland, Raised by Authority of Parliament for the Service

of this Commonwealth (London, 1652)

E.1062 (2) A Declaration and Order of his Excellency the Lord General Cromwell and his Council of Officers: For the continuance of the Assessment for six moneths from the 24th of June to the 25th of December following; at the rate of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds by the moneth, towards the maintenance of the Armies and Navies of this Commonwealth (London, 1653)

E.1062 (28) An Act for an Assessment at the Rate of One hundred and twenty thousand Pounds by the Moneth for Six Moneths from the Twenty fifth day of December, 1653 to the Twenty fourth day of June next ensuing towards the maintenance of the Armies and Navies of this Commonwealth (London, 1653)

E.1064 (55) An Order and Declaration of His Highness and the Council, for an Assessment of sixty thousand pounds per Mensem, from the four and twentieth of June, 1655 (London, 1655)

E.1065 (3) An Order and Declaration of His Highness and the Council for

an Assessment of sixty thousand Pounds per mensem, for Six Moneths; from the five and twentieth of December, 1655 to the four and twentieth of June, 1656 (London, 1655)

E.1065 (7) An Order and Declaration of His Highness and the Council for an Assessment of Sixty thousand pounds per Mensem, from the four and twentieth of June, 1656 (London, 1656)

E.1065 (9) An Order and Declaration of His Highness and the Council for an Assessment of Sixty thousand Pounds per mensem for six Moneths, from the five and twentieth day of December, 1656 (London, 1656)

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2.1.5 Newsbooks

Mercurius Politicus

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1660, 5 vols. (ed. M.A.E. Green, 1889-93)

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2.2.2 Historical Manuscripts Commission (H.M.C)

<u>No.</u>	<u>MSS.</u>
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2. Third Report, appendix (1872)	Bedingfield, Ffolkes, Hare, Le Strange
4. Fifth Report, appendix I	Sutherland (Trentham), Lechmere, Mildmay (Dogmersfield), Cholmondeley (Candover)
6. Seventh Report, appendix I (1879)	House of Lords (1647-65), Verney, Mildmay (Hazelgrove), Lowndes (Barrington)
7. Ninth Report, appendix (1883)	Great Yarmouth
11. Tenth Report, appendix II (1885)	<u>Gawdy</u> (1509-75)

13. Tenth Report, appendix IV Eye, county of Essex
(1885)
15. Tenth Report, appendix VI Braye
(1885)
18. Eleventh Report, appendix III King's Lynn
(1887)
19. Eleventh Report, appendix IV Townshend (1499-1791)
(1887)
22. Eleventh Report, appendix VII Le Strange
(1888)
27. Twelfth Report, appendix IX Beaufort
(1891)
29. Thirteenth Report, appendix I Portland I (Nalson,
(1891) 1628-83)
- Fourteenth Report, appendix II Portland III (Harley,
(1894) 1582-1700)

31. Thirteenth Report, appendix IV Wodehouse
(1892)
37. Fourteenth Report, appendix VIII Bury St Edmunds
(1895)
38. Fourteenth Report, appendix IX Round
51. (1899) Leyborne-Popham (Clarke)
55. Various Collections II Buxton
(1902)
- Var. Coll. IV Orford, Aldeburgh,
(1907) Leicester (Holkham)
- Var. Coll. VII Beccles, Dunwich
(1914)
58. (1904) Bath I (Harley, 1643-
1785)
- (1907) Bath II (Harley, 1515-

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62. (1905)

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